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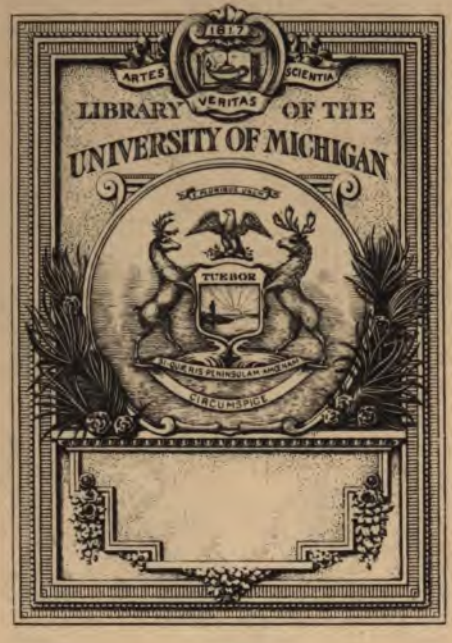
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THE WORKS

OF

THOMAS JACKSON, D.D.

SOMETIME

PRESIDENT OF CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, OXFORD,
AND DEAN OF PETERBOROUGH.

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A TREATISE

CONTAINING

THE ORIGINAL

OF

UNBELIEF, MISBELIEF, OR MISPERSUASIONS,

CONCERNING THE

VERITY, UNITY, AND ATTRIBUTES OF THE DEITY:

WITH

DIRECTIONS FOR RECTIFYING OUR BELIEF OR KNOWLEDGE IN THE FOREMENTIONED POINTS.

BOOK V.

JOHN xvii. 3.

This is life eternal, to know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent.

420899

TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

SIR HENRY DANVERS KNIGHT,

BARON OF DANTESEY:

HIS HONOURABLE AND SINGULAR GOOD LORD.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

AS in drawing these and former lines I have had no other aspect or aim, save only to discover the by-paths which lead unto error, and to press forwards by a clear way towards the truth; so in publishing of them I have taught them to look backwards, not forwards, as being more desirous to testify my thankful respect, either to the known honourable patrons of good acts, or furtherers of my private studies, than to feed ambitious fancies with the humours of the time, by obtruding myself upon the dispensers of great dignities or preferments. My resolution being thus set, I save a labour in dedicating these papers to your Lordship, whose honourable favours and munificence towards that famous University (whereof I have long continued an unworthy member, but to which I shall ever continue the love and obedience of a faithful son) do challenge a better testimony of my observance than I can now express, or hope hereafter to present your Lordship withal. But God be thanked, our famous mother

hath many sons a great deal more able than myself to undergo this service. Leaving it therefore unto them, I shall give myself abundant satisfaction and contentment for my labours past, and take encouragement to continue the like, if it shall please your Lordship to accept these present, as an undoubted pledge of that thankful respect and observance which I owe unto your Lordship for your favours and bounty towards myself in particular, the memory of which hath been more grateful unto me, in that I was made to feel them before I was so much as known by sight unto your Honour. Thus with my best prayers for continuance of your Lordship's increase of honour and true happiness, I humbly take my leave, and rest

Your Lordship's in all

duty and observance,

THOMAS JACKSON.

From Penly in Hertfordshire,
March 2, 1624.

A TREATISE 837

CONTAINING

THE ORIGINAL

OF

UNBELIEF, MISBELIEF, OR MISPERSUASIONS,

CONCERNING

THE VERITY, UNITY, AND ATTRIBUTES OF THE DEITY:

WITH

DIRECTIONS FOR RECTIFYING OUR BELIEF OR KNOWLEDGE IN THE FOREMENTIONED POINTS.

SECTION I.

Of the engraffed Notion of a Deity; and the Originals of Atheism.

ATHEISM and irreligion are diseases so much more dangerous than infidelity or idolatry, as infidelity is than heresy. Every heretic is in part an infidel, but every infidel is not in whole or part an heretic; every atheist is an infidel, so is not every infidel an atheist. The name of heretic is common to all, and proper only to such as either deny or misbelieve any one article in the Apostles' Creed. Infidels all are to be accounted, which either deny or believe not the articles concerning Christ. Such are the Jews, Turks, Mahometans in general, &c., whom no man calls atheists. An atheist he is, *qui titubat in limine*, which either denies 838
or believes not the very first article in the Creed, God,

or the Divine Providence. Now seeing belief, as it is terminated to the first words of the Creed, is as the diametral line or axis which severs atheism or irreligion from religion, whether true or false, and doth as it were constitute two distinct hemispheres of men; it will be necessary in the first place to examine the original meaning of the first words in the Creed, "I believe in God."

CHAP. I.

To believe in God is originally no more than to believe there is a God, who is in all Things to be believed. Of this Belief, Trust or Confidence in God is the necessary Consequent in collapsed Men; Despair the necessary Consequent of the same or like Belief in collapsed Angels.

1. To believe in God hath gone current so long for as much as *to put trust or confidence in him*, that now to call it in, or make it go for less, will perhaps be thought an usurpation of authority more than critical, and much greater than befits us. Notwithstanding, if on God's behalf we may plead what lawyers do in cases of the crown, *Nullum tempus occurrit regi*, that the Ancient of days (unto whose sovereignty all truth is from eternity essentially annexed) may not be prejudiced by antiquity of custom or prescription, especially whose original is erroneous, the case is clear, that to believe in God, is, in their intention which first composed this Creed, no more than to believe there is a God, or to give credence to his word. For justifying this assertion, I must appeal from the English dialect, in which the manner of speech is proper and natural, were it consonant to the meaning of the original, as also from the Latin, in which the phrase being foreign and uncouth must be valued by the Greek, whose stamp and character it evidently bears. Now the Greek πιστεύειν εἰς τὸν Θεὸν, as also the Hebrew phrase, whereunto by sacred writers it was framed, is no more

than hath been said, to believe there is a God; otherwise we must believe not only in God the Father, in Christ the Son, and in the Holy Ghost, but in the catholic church, in the communion of saints, in the forgiveness of sins, and in the resurrection of the body, and in life everlasting, seeing the Greek particle (usually expressed by the Latin *in*) is annexed after the same manner to all these objects of our belief, as is apparent in the ancient Greek Creeds. And he that diligently reads the translation of the Septuagint shall find the Greek phrase, which is verbatim rendered by the Latin *in Deum credere*, "to believe in God," promiscuously used for the other, *credere Deo*, "to believe God."

2. Or if, besides the evident records of the ancient copies, personal witnesses be required, amongst the ancient I know few, amongst modern writers none, more competent than those which are expressly for us, as Beza, Mercer[a], Drusius[b], unto whom we may add Ribera[c] and Lorinus. Now as to use the benefit of a truth known and testified is always lawful, so in this case it is to us most expedient, almost necessary. For either I did not rightly apprehend whiles I read it, or at least now remember not, how the schoolman removes the stumblingblock which he had placed in the very entry to this Creed—If to believe in God be as much as to put trust or confidence in him, by exacting a profession of this Creed at all men's mouths we shall en- 839
force a great many to profess a lie: for of such as not only out of ordinary charity, but upon particular probabilities, we may safely acquit from actual atheism

[a] Com. in Gen. xv. 6: vide 2 Reg. xvii. 14.

[b] Observationum, lib. 3. c. 1. The position prefixed by way of title to his chapter is, Recte dici ex Hebraismo, [credos in Mosem, et in resurrectionem mortuorum.]

[c] Ribera in cap. 3. Ionæ, numb. 29. Vide Coppen in Psal. cvi. 12.

or contradicting infidelity, a great number do not put their trust or confidence in God: this being the mark whereat the belief of novices must aim, not the first step they are to make in this progress. And for myself, (until I be better instructed,) if a poor dejected soul should come unto me with a complaint of his distrust or diffidence, I would not instantly urge him to make proclamation of his trust in God against his conscience; for this were to *quench smoking flax*, by violent blowing those weak and smothered sparkles, which should be charily revived by mild and gentle breathing. The contrary advice on my part, or practice on his, should not want an approved pattern; to confess his present unbelief, whiles he prays for future increase of such weak belief, as he may safely make profession of. And as the fire, once throughly kindled, bursts out of its own accord into a lasting flame; so belief, once inwardly planted, will naturally bring forth steadfast confidence, without further plantation or superaddition of any new belief or persuasion. Many beginning their faith the other way, may for a long time be stiffly persuaded that they believe in God, when indeed they do not truly believe him, his word, or his mercies. These no man firmly can believe but he shall assuredly believe in him, yea, put his whole trust and confidence in his goodness. Howbeit, as much as now I write would hardly be permitted me, in most men's hearing, to speak, without this or the like interpellation—Shall we then believe in saints, or good angels, because we assuredly believe there be such natures? or shall we say the wicked angels believe in God, because they believe his being more firmly than we can do, and know his word as clearly?

3. That inferior subjects salute not every officer in the court after the same manner they do the prince, is

not because they see not the one as perfectly as the other; rather, the more fully they discern them by one and the same unerring sight, the better they conceive the different respect which is due to their several presences. Angels we believe are ministering spirits, appointed to execute God's will, whose majesty they adore as fervently as we do; putting greater confidence in his mercy than we can do, even because their knowledge of it is more clear, their experience of it more undoubted. But the better we believe this their subordination unto God, the less shall we be inclined to believe in them, the more to put our confidence in God, in whom even the angels trust. Again, admitting trust or affiance in God to receive continual increase, according to the growth of our belief of his word or being; that devils, albeit they believe or know both more clearly than the best of us, should notwithstanding perpetually remain without any trust or affiance in him or his mercies, no man, upon just examination of the difference between their collapsed estate and ours, can deem strange or doubtful, much less a doubt, as some in their writings suppose, insoluble, unless we make trust or affiance in God essentially to difference our belief of his being from theirs. If the king's majesty should proclaim a general pardon to a number of known rebels, and vow execution of judgment without mercy upon some principal offenders which had maliciously and cunningly seduced their simplicity, I suppose his will and pleasure equally manifested to both, and so believed, would as much dishearten the one as encourage the other to rely upon his clemency. 840 Such altogether, notwithstanding, is the case of men and wicked angels: the one believes Christ took the woman's seed, and therefore cannot, without such wilful mistrust of the promise of life as was in his first

parents unto God's threats of death, despair of redemption by the eternal sacrifice: the other as firmly believe, or rather evidently know, that Christ in no wise took the angelical nature, and without this ground, the better they believe his incarnation, the less are their hopes of their own redemption.

4. Briefly, the bringing of souls to God being the end, as of our preaching, so of our writing; the first point, as I conceive, we are to teach such as desire to come unto him, is, to *believe that he is;* the second, *that he is a rewarder of all them that diligently seek him.* Not all the eloquence of men or angels, not the most pathetical exhortations the one can frame, or the most forcible impulsions the other can use, are half so powerful to draw our hearts after our God, as the distinct orthodoxal explication of his essence and attributes, of his power, his wisdom, and goodness, either general in respect of all the works of his hands, or peculiar to mankind, visibly set forth unto us in the life, the actions, and passions of our Saviour. What belief soever is not conceived from sober and frequent meditations of these truths, what confidence soever is not brought forth by belief so conceived, will by Satan one time or other easily be impeached of bastardy. Even when this faith by which we now walk shall be converted into perfect sight, everlasting confidence shall not outstart, but rather follow it. Much less should we, in this vale of darkness, begin our edification in faith at the open profession of assured or consummate confidence, or seek to frame it by imitation of such outward practices, as strength of faith and full assurance of God's favours, have emboldened hearts thoroughly inflamed with sincere zeal of truth, to undertake. The truth then supposed, as chief supporter to the discourse following, is, that without some prece-

dent defect of our apprehensions, there can be no want of true confidence: and fail we may, as most do, in apprehensions either of the verity, unity, or of the nature and attributes of the Godhead. The internal original, or manner of our defects or errors in these three points, we are to set down in this book; the right explication of the article proposed in the next.

CHAP. II.

Disputation is not the readiest Way to cure or reclaim an Atheist.

To dispute with such as deny manifest and received principles, were to violate a fundamental law of the schools; which in matters of faith and sacred morality is to be religiously kept, as in other respects, so chiefly in this; that general maxims, whence particular truths and conclusions of best use must be derived, can hardly be proved by arguments more clear and evident than themselves. Now to interpose proofs of less truth or perspicuity than is the matter to be proved, is but to eclipse the evidence of it, (which of itself would in due season shine to calm and purified meditations,) or to provoke such as delight in trying masteries of strength or skill in arguing, to assault truths otherwise safe enough from all attempts, did they not see them so weakly guarded upon preparation. Thus the discovery of timorous looks or mean provision often encourageth 841
base and cowardly thieves to encounter passengers, whose number or presence they durst not behold, if they did not betray themselves. For this reason, amongst others, I will not in the first place use the benefit of divers schoolmen's labours, to prove, by strength of speculative reason, there is a God; although they bring abundance of reasons, all irrefragable to an ingenuous, well-disposed contemplator: but unto such

this principle is of all others most clear and evident in itself, as being most deeply implanted in the reasonable nature, not acquired by use of sense or observation. The best method, in my opinion, to prevent atheism, or cure an atheist, would be to hold the mean betwixt the contemplative philosopher and the practical physician. I have heard of some so far overgrown with melancholy, that they would eat no meat; conceiting either they had no mouths, or that their teeth were as soft as butter. For a physician to have attempted removal of such fancies by force of reason, or importunate suggestion of contrary persuasions, had been *cum ratione insanire*, to have proved himself as mad as his patients were melancholy. The readiest way (as not long ago hath been experienced) to relieve parties thus affected, is, for a time rather to assent unto, than contradict them; that so, by promising a remedy to the supposed malady, an entrance may be made to purge the humour which breeds the false imagination. And he that would cure an ordinary atheist, should, as not soothe him in his impiety, so not directly or fiercely encounter him with syllogistical proofs, or discourses metaphysical, for so (*ægrescit medendo*) he will grow sicker by seeing the medicine; but labour rather, secretly to undermine the internal disposition whence such unhallowed imaginations spring. Atheism in grain is but a spiritual madness, arising from the abundance of such distemper in the soul, as in proportion answers to melancholy in the body. Would men look into their own hearts in time, before they be overshadowed with such grisly qualities, they might behold the image of God engraven in them, and, as it were, by an ocular demonstration be better informed in this point, than by the disputes of philosophers.

CHAP. III.

The Notion of the Deity or Divine Power is most natural unto all Men. How this Notion being most natural unto all, is eclipsed and defaced in many.

1. THAT the internal notion of powers divine which guide this visible work of nature, is most natural to mankind, needs no further proof than its own extent and universality. "This sure ground we have," saith Tully, "to believe there be gods, in that there is no nation so brutish or inhuman but is seasoned with some opinion of the gods. Many conceive amiss of them, (for so much bad custom in all like cases will effect,) yet all suppose a virtue or power divine; not drawn hereto by voices of others, or debatements: this is an opinion established not by civil laws or institutions. Now the free or unsolicited consent of all nations concerning any matter, is to be esteemed as the law of nature [d]."

2. This observation of times more ancient is fully 842
acquitted from the exception of modern atheists by the plentiful experiments of the age late past, wherein divers countries, peopled with inhabitants of different manners and education, have been discovered, the very best being more rude and barbarous than any nation known but by hearsay to the Romans. And yet, even in this refuse of barbarians, the very worst (such as for their rudeness and uncivility could hardly be discerned

[d] Ut porro firmissimum hoc afferri videtur, cur deos esse credamus, quod nulla gens tam fera, nemo omnium tam sit immanis, cujus mentem non imbuerit deorum opinio:—multi de diis prava sentiunt; (id enim vitioso more effici solet) omnes tamen esse vim et naturam divinam arbitrantur: nec vero id collocutio hominum, aut consensus effecit, non institutis opinio est confirmata, non legibus: omni autem in re consensio omnium gentium, lex naturæ putanda est.—Tuscul. Quæst. lib. 1. [cap. 13.]

from brute beasts) approve themselves to be of better lineage, (γένος ὑπάρχοντες τοῦ Θεοῦ[e],) in that they acknowledge gods, or superior powers, whom they honour with sacrifices and other rites, in testimony of their gratitude for benefits received from them: as if the signification of man's obligements to an invisible power for his life, his health, his food, and other necessaries, or at least for privileges from disasters or mischances[f], were as natural to him as fawnings, or like dumb signs of love unto their fosterers or cherishers, are to dogs, or other domestic and tame creatures. The civil wisdom which appears in Lycurgus' laws, Numa's institutions, with other like amongst the more civil sort of ancient heathens, may probably argue ability in them of framing many particular rites of religion, as politic sophisms, to retain the simple in awe and blind devotion to their hosts. Albeit, the invention of such false worships without imitation of some true pattern formerly known, would have been very hard, if not impossible, even unto these wise and prudent lawgivers. Nor could their artificial inventions have wrought so successfully upon their minds that were seduced by them, unless they had been naturally inclined unto the engrafted truth of the generals; under pretence of whose sovereign right these particulars were commended. But who would father the first

[e] Acts xvii. 29.

[f] Affluebat interea quotidie ex omnibus locis nova ejus gentis et copiosa multitudo, ut inusitatas nostrorum hominum barbam gestantium formas cultumque viserent: fructus, pisces, aurum, panem, et alia alimenta, undique afferentes: ac simiarum more vestigia ritusque Christianorum imitantes: quoties hi genua flexerant, flectebant et illi: Christiani reverenter oculos in cœlum sustulerant, Indi pariter et ipsi tollebant. Denique quicquid ab Hispanis ad recitandum Ave Maria mane et vesperi convenientibus fieri soleret, itidem ab istis fiebat.—Benzonus in Descript. Americæ, lib. 4. cap. 8. pag. 35.

notion of a Deity and religion upon policy, rather than nature, when it appears not universal only, but perpetual to the several generations of sundry people in whom no print of any policy, save merely natural, is now extant?

3. Some scruple notwithstanding may here be ministered to young students, from these or the like vagrant axioms, whose seat or proper subject is not so well known as they are frequent: 1. That the decrees or injunctions of nature cannot be prejudiced by custom or education: 2. That such general principles as by her light are clear can hardly be denied by any of her children. Whenas the experience of later times especially presents unto us a great many, (unto whom nature in distribution of her other gifts hath shewed herself no step-mother, but rather indulgent, as to her darlings,) all mightily oppugning this truth, which we that are (as they deem) of duller capacity in matters secular, devoutly obey as her undoubted law. But here we may well doubt, whether bad education or evil customs have not better enabled these men to strive against such practices as this dictate of nature prescribes, than utterly to disclaim all sense of her suggestions, or shake off all secret notions of her summons. However that be, (for we know our own hearts, not theirs, nor can we believe them that will not believe there is a God, albeit they would interpose an oath for our assurance one way or other,) this we know, that nothing can be more natural to man than reason. And yet how many have we seen, in whom 843
nature and art have done their parts, by too much study or intemperance become so utterly destitute of all use of reason or discretion, that such actions or demeanour as nature prescribes to all men as they are

reasonable, have been more neglected by them than by brute beasts, yea ofttimes furiously inverted.

4. This instance amongst others may be our warrant for restraining the former axiom—that nature cannot be prejudiced by custom — to nature either altogether inanimate or merely sensitive, whose inclination is single, and but one way set: or if appliable to the reasonable or intellectual nature, whose propensions as they are many, so are they freely fashionable to divers means, and apt to be directed to contrary ends, it is true only of the general faculty or remote propensions, not of their actual promptness, use, or exercise. Many there be so extremely vicious, that their minds seem now, *de facto*, wholly bent to do others mischief: this notwithstanding proves not that nature hath sown no seeds of virtue in their souls, but rather their wilful suffering these to be choked and stifled, by cherishing contrary desires, or embracing pleasant allurements unto evil. If such blindness have by bad custom crept on some, that they cannot now discern any lineaments of God's image in their hearts; it will not hence follow that this light of nature, whereby they might have seen him, did never shine unto them, but rather that they have smothered it, because they loved the works of darkness better than the deeds of light, purposely obliterating all resemblances of him who is the avenger of evil, whose portraiture their first parents had blurred by imprinting his enemy's picture upon it. Nothing more easy than for others (so they will be observant) clearly to discern the live image, not of the old man, but of the old serpent, in such as cannot or will not see the image of God in themselves.

5. Besides this difference between the inclinations

of nature in man and in creatures inanimate or irrational; a difference there is, not much observed, but worthy of diligent observation, between common principles merely speculative or abstract, and others practical or moral. The latter may be in many intensively more clear than the former, as indeed they are more natural in respect they are more deeply implanted in the very soul, not let into the brain by external senses, albeit even for this reason they are by many less regarded, as being more familiar than such speculative notions as these: Every whole is greater than its part—Twice two make four—or such like, of whose certainty no man at any time can doubt; not that our nature, as reasonable, is of itself more inclined to abstract speculations than to moralities, but that speculative notions are seated in the head, or utmost confines of the soul's regiment, as in an academy or cloister, privileged from such tumultuous broils as might divert our intentions from beholding them, or retract our inclinations from adherence to their truth. On the contrary, such disturbances are most frequent in the court or palace of this little kingdom wherein moral notions of God and goodness have their necessary abode; and these notions are, upon this occasion, usually either tainted with the contagion of such noisome lusts, or much weakened by the reluctation of such contrary desires, as lodge in the same room or closet with them.

6. Our readiness in heat of passion, or interposition of causes concerning our own commodities, to recall religious motions, whose undoubted truth and equity we could in calm and sober thoughts be well contented to seal (if need were) with our blood, 844
will easily induce minds capable of any vicissitude of quiet and retired cogitations, after turbulent and

working fancies, to admit the former difference between dictates of nature seated in the brain, and others engrafted in the heart, to be, for the manner of their several evidences or perspicuities, muchwhat like the lightsomeness of the inferior and supreme region of the air. The sunbeams are sometimes more bright in this lowest part than in the uppermost, wherein they suffer no reflection; yet are they in this lower often so eclipsed with clouds, with mists, or storms, as he that did never look out of doors but in such dismal weather might well imagine his day to be but night, in respect of that clearness he might perpetually behold were his habitation above the clouds. The continual smoke of noisome lust, the steams of bloody and revengeful thoughts, the uncessant exhalations of other unclean and vast desires, which reign in the atheist's heart, can never obscure the mathematical or logical notions of abstract truths in his brain: the principles of morality or religion, which nature hath planted in his heart and conscience, they quickly may, they always do more or less eclipse according to the strength and permanency of their infectious and incompatible qualities. Happy it is, that he can acknowledge, and sometimes magnify, the light of nature in matters speculative, or concerning the body only, and now and then brag, as if he were her son elect and others but reprobates, in comparison of that heroical spirit she hath enabled him with in businesses of state or policy. For, who is this his goddess Nature? can he tell us? Or what is her light, that he should so much glory in it? Doth she not borrow it from the Father of lights, whose habitation is in that radiant brightness which is inaccessible? Thus, I suppose, such as dwell under the poles would commend the light-

someness of the air which they daily behold and hourly breathe in, but deny that there were any such glorious body as the sun that did enlighten it, did it never come further northward than within three or four degrees of Aries, or never move further southward than within as many of Libra. Now as the only way utterly to dissuade men from an opinion so palpably gross as by the former supposition might be conceived, would be to remove them out of their native clime into ours; so the best means an atheist can use, to refute his impious errors in denying there is a God, is, to relinquish his wonted courses in the ways of darkness, and to have his conversation, for a time at least, or upon trial, with the sons of light. And to make this trial he may perchance be sooner induced, by discovering the several heads or first originals of his sacrilegious mispersuasions more particularly.

CHAP. IV.

Atheism, Idolatry, Heresy, Hypocrisy, &c. have one common Root. What Estate or Condition of Life is freest from or most obnoxious unto Atheism, or Temptations thereto tending. Of Atheism in Passion only, not habituated.

1. ALL of those almost numberless inclinations which are united in the indivisible human soul, as lines spherical in their centre, being apt to be impelled or poised by their proper objects; it is impossible 845 their several bents should admit an equality of strength, seeing as well their internal growth or eminencies, as the potencies of their objects, are unequal. Much more must many of their actual motions needs be incompatible, inasmuch as the points whereon they are set, and whereto they move, are ofttimes extremely opposite and directly contrary. Hence,

in the former book[g] is observed, our assent unto such branches of supernatural truth or goodness as are stiffly counterswayed by natural desires or affections, either for quality or intention most repugnant, is always wrought with greatest difficulties. For even this assent which we term *Christian belief* is but an inclination or bent of the human soul unto matters revealed by the Spirit, whose divine attractions or impulsions are always oppugned by contrary lustings of the flesh; more or less, according to the diversity of their strength or impetuousness, whether in their acts or habits. Now seeing atheism is but a complete or total eclipse[h], whether of celestial irradiations, as yet external, not illuminating the soul, or of that natural and internal light which men have of heavenly powers and providence divine; we are not to seek an original of it altogether new or diverse from the original of ignorance or unbelief of particular revelations, but only a more direct and fuller opposition of those earthly parts of the human soul, whence these lesser defects are caused. After those Jews (whose hypocritical shufflings with the prophet Jeremy was in the former book[i] at large deciphered) had fully experienced all hopes of good from their late elected goddess the queen of heaven to be as vain as their princes' trust in Egypt, the next point whereat their floating imaginations could have arrived had been to deny there were any God or gods, at least any that cared for them or could do them good. The truth of what we here suppose, as necessarily consequent to our former discussions, will better clear itself in the issue of these; to wit, that atheism, idolatry, heresy, hypocrisy, &c., spring all from one common

[g] Of justifying Faith. [h] Vide Coppen. in Psal. x. 11. col. 165.
[i] Justifying Faith, sect. 1. cap. 11.

root, i. e. indulgence to corrupt affection, only the manner of their growth is different.

2. Some desires of the natural man, though tainted with the deceivable lusts of corruption, yet have no repugnancy with natural notions of divine goodness indefinitely considered; only they sway too much unto secondary causes, best suiting with themselves, or aptest to satisfy their untemperate longings, and, as it were, by popular factions, set up these secondary causes or means as gods, without consulting the laws of nature, never demanding reason's voice or approbation. Some parts of the *old man* again there be, which include only a dissonancy to some particular passages of the rule of life, or partial opposition to our natural notion of God or his attributes; and these sway only unto hypocrisy, heresy, or transfiguration of the divine will or word into the similitude of our corrupt imaginations. Other lusts of the flesh there be, either for quality, multitude, strength, or abundance, so mainly opposite to the most essential and general notions of the Godhead, that sometimes by being directly crossed, otherwhiles by being fully satisfied, they introduce either oblivion or flat denial of any divine power or providence.

3. The attribute most inseparable from the divine nature and most sovereign title of the Godhead is his goodness. The very names or literal elements of God and good are not in our country dialect so near allied, as the conceits which their mention or nomination suggests are in nature. So necessarily doth goodness presuppose a God or Deity, from which, as from 846
a fountain, it flows; and so essential is it to this fountain to send forth sweet streams of joy and comfort, that the heathen philosopher, upon the interview of good and evil, seems to suffer torture between the con-

trariety of his unsettled conceits concerning the truth or vanity of the Godhead; *Si Deus non sit unde bona?* Can there be any good without a God? *Si Deus sit unde mala?* If there be a God, how chanceth it of things that are, all are not good, many evil? Others, not altogether heathenish, from curiosity of like contemplation, not guided by the rule of faith, imagine two eternal indefectible creative powers; the one good, and sole fountain of all goodness; the other evil, and main source of all evil and mischief in the world. Of both these errors, and the ignorance that occasioned them, we shall have fitter occasion to speak hereafter. Both of them suppose a true notion of divine goodness indefinitely considered, whereunto a conceit or apprehension of divine providence, in most heathen, was subordinate. "Many great and famous philosophers there be," saith Tully, "which ascribe the government of the world unto the wisdom of the gods: not herewith content, they further acknowledge all necessary supplies of health and welfare to be procured by their providence. For corn, and other increase of the earth, variety of times and seasons, with those changes of the weather whereby such fruits as the earth brings forth do grow and ripen, are, in the same men's opinions, effects of divine goodness to mankind." From the perpetuity of such visible blessings as these heathen philosophers derive from the bounty of their imaginary gods, doth the doctor of the Gentiles and his fellow-apostle seek to win the inhabitants of Lystra unto the worship of the only true invisible God. How readily experience of uncouth goodness brings forth an express conceit of a Godhead, and causeth the often mentioned engraffed notion to bud or flourish, these heathen had openly testified by their forwardness to sacrifice unto these messengers of our Lord and Sa-

viour, as unto great gods, because strange authors, or rather instruments of unexpected good to one of their neighbours. This confused branch of piety, though misgrown and set awry, was notwithstanding flexible and pliant to these points of life proposed by the apostle; *Sirs, why do ye these things? We also are men of like passions with you, and preach unto you that you should turn from these vanities unto the living God, which made heaven, and earth, and the sea, and all things that are therein: who in times past suffered all nations to walk in their own ways. Nevertheless he left not himself without witness, in that he did good, and gave us rain from heaven, and fruitful seasons, filling our hearts with food and gladness*[k]. From this one stream of divine goodness experienced in giving grain, did the heathens christen their god Jupiter with a name importing his procurement of this effect; the Greeks calling him Ὄμβριος, the Latins, *Pluvius*. So effectual a witness of the Godhead is the accomplishment of any much desired good, that such as doubt whether the good we enjoy on earth be derived from heaven, are often unwittingly enforced to think and speak of whatsoever doth them any extraordinary good, or satisfy the vehemency of their desires, as of their God.

4. The more indissoluble the mutual conceits of God and goodness are, the sooner we lose the one, whiles we remain without experience or apprehension of the other. Two conditions of life there be alike hurtful to this engraffed notion of the Deity: 1. Affluence, or abundance of things desired, without interposal of indigence: 2. Perpetual indigence, or sordid want, without vicissitude of ordinary competency or content- 847
ment. The latter usually starves the natural notions

[k] Acts xiv. 15, 16, 17.

or conceits of God, which must be fed with sense or taste of some goodness, the former (affluence or abundance) chokes it. Amongst all the barbarians which [1] Tacitus mentioned in his description of Germany, he blemisheth one sort only with a glancing touch of irreligion, as being so entirely and familiarly acquainted with beggarly need, that they needed not the help of God or man more than the beasts of the field. Yet that they were altogether atheists, or abettors of infidelity, is scarce credible; but very likely that they gave less signs of any religion than others did, which had oftener and better occasions to supplicate the divine powers, either for protection from such evils, or for collation of such benefits, as these *fenni* had little cause greatly either to fear or hope. Household gods they had none, because they cared not for houses; gods or goddesses of corn, of wine, of oil, or the like, they never sought to, because never accustomed to sow, to plant, or reap. But whether they used not to pray for good success in their huntings, or in skirmishing with their rude neighbours, or amongst themselves, is more than can be determined from Tacitus' censure, interserted, as it seems, rather to please the reader, than seriously to impeach them of any greater crime, or more loathsome disease, than usually haunts men of their constitution or condition. As of the mighty and

[1] Fennis mira feritas, fœda paupertas; non arma, non equi, non penates: victui herba, vestitui pelles, cubile humus. Sola in sagittis spes, quas inopia ferri, ossibus asperant. Idemque venatus viros pariter ac fœminas alit. Passim enim comitantur, partemque prædæ petunt. Nec aliud infantibus ferarum imbriumque suffugium, quam ut in aliquo ramorum nexu contegantur: huc redeunt juvenes, hoc senum receptaculum. Id beatius arbitrantur, quam ingemere agris, illaborare domibus, suas alienasque fortunas spe metuque versare. Securi adversus homines, securi adversus Deos, rem difficillimam assecuti sunt, ut illis ne voto quidem opus sit.—Tacit. lib. de moribus German. [c. 46.]

noble, so of those vile and despised creatures which continue their circular and slothful range from house to house, (liking best to live, as these late-mentioned barbarians did, from hand to mouth,) not many there be which give any just proof of their calling. The sense of God and his goodness is in most of them stupid and dull, save only when hunger and thirst, or hope of an alms instantly craved by them in his name, and usually granted by others for his sake, shall whet or quicken it. But as well in life spiritual as in corporal, fewer by much (though too many) lose their stomachs through extreme penury or long fasting, than there be of such as spoil or dead their taste by continual fulness. As long or hard want doth sometimes starve, so the perennial current of wealth, of peace, or ease, with other outward blessings, doth usually drown all sense or notion of that goodness whence these and all other good things flow. Did that part of the moon which is next us always shine, we should have less occasion to inquire, and greater difficulty to determine, whether the light it hath were derived from the sun. Generally, such effects as admit interruption in their existence sooner lead us unto the true knowledge of their first and immediate causes, than if they enjoyed permanent duration. A [m]body subject to some vicissitude of sickness, better discerns what causeth health, than he whose health hath been perpetual. And this advantage he hath again, that though a disease, in itself equally grievous, do assault him, yet is it less assisted

[m] Istæ vices magis in nobis excitant sensum divinæ bonitatis, quam continuus tenor fœlicitatis, qui nos inebriat: tum enim bona cognoscimus postquam amisimus. Præsentium oritur tædium, absentium excitatur desiderium.—Coppen. in Psal. cxxxvi. 23, 24.

by impatience: from former experience he is better enabled to see what did him hurt, and what is likely to do him good, and, as it were, nurtured to expect a change.

5. The best diet then to avoid this *morbus fatuus*, whose fits come upon us as well by fulness as by vacuity, is that which Solomon hath prescribed. *Give me not poverty nor riches; feed me with food convenient for me: lest I be full, and deny thee, and say, Who is the Lord? or lest I be poor, and*
848 *steal, and take the name of my God in vain*[n]. Yet neither can mediocrity of fortunes without moderate desires, nor vicissitude of want, unless the soul be inwardly purged, much avail. Our minds may be much set on little matters, and our desires of others' prosperity (especially the flourishing estate of the weal-public, wherein we live a poor contented private life) may be too stiff and peremptory. Now such is the blindness of our corrupted nature, such is our partiality towards our own desires, (though of others' welfare,) as will hardly suffer us to distinguish that which is absolutely good, from that which seems best to us, as for the present we stand affected. From these originals, minds by nature or education in their kind devout, but subject withal to stiff and settled desires of mutable and transitory good, being either divorced from delights, whereon they have long doted, or frustrated of those hopes, for whose accomplishment they have solicited divine powers with great earnestness and importunity, are most obnoxious to such impulsions as throw men into atheism and irreligion. These diseases were scarce known or heard of amongst the Romans so long as their state after recovery from

[n] Prov. xxx. 8, 9.

many crazes and sore wounds received daily increase by means (which in their observation might have challenged greatest praise for their prudent care of public good) more than human; but after it once (contrary to all politic expectation) began to reel and totter, and threaten ruin to the best pillars it had left to support it, these and the like querulous mutterings began to assay her most ingenuous and devoutest children;

> *O faciles dare summa deos, eademque tueri*
> *Difficiles!*—— Lucanus [i. 510.]
>
> Ah facile gods, to rear up states to greatest height,
> But most averse to keep them, so uprear'd, upright!

But much worse than these (it seems by Cotta's complaint) were more frequent in corrupt minds, a little before: "If the gods," saith he, "have a care of mankind, they should in reason make all men good; or if not so, at least tender the hap and welfare of such as are good indeed. Why then were the two noble, valorous, and victorious Scipios oppressed in Spain by the perfidious Carthaginians?" A great number of worthy patriots he there reckons besides: all either exiled or slain by their turbulent and factious enemies, or (which was worse than death to a Roman spirit) beholden to tyrants for their lives and fortunes. Another poet, not long after the uttering of this complaint, (perhaps moved thereto by the indignity of Tully's untimely death,) ingenuously acknowledgeth the like distrust of divine providence in himself, as Tully had vented under the person of Cotta:

> *Cum rapiunt mala fata bonos, ignoscite fasso,*
> *Sollicitor nullos esse putare deos.*
> Ovid. [Am. l. 3. El. 9. 35.]
>
> What oft I think, once let me say:
> Whilst bad fates take best men away,
> I am provok'd gods to disclaim,
> For gods should give death better aim.

The like cogitations did work more desperately in such as had been more deeply interessed in Pompey's faction, after they saw so many noble senators (worthy, in their judgment, to have been honoured like gods, after death) deprived of all funeral rites and exequies; whilst the dead relics of mere carcasses whilst they lived, of parasitical mechanics or devoted instruments of tyrannical lust, were graved with princely monuments. The very sight of these did by a kind of antiperistasis revive and sublimate the former offences taken against their gods for the indignities done unto their nobles:

849 *Marmoreo Licinus tumulo jacet, et Cato parvo,*
Pompeius nullo: quis putet esse deos?

Base Licinus hath a pompous tomb
of gaudy marble stone,
Wise Cato but a foolish one,
the mighty Pompey none.
Yet all this while we dream of gods,
and dream we do I wis:
For gods are none; or if there be,
how can they suffer this?

6. That vengeance belonged unto God was another branch of the general notion engraffed by nature in the hearts of heathen. And if he did not shew himself an awful judge and avenger of prodigious cruelties, which ordinary laws could not redress, this neglect of duty (as they took it) made them bolder with Jupiter himself than the poor woman was with the emperor that asked him, "[q]Why then dost thou reign, if thou be not at leisure to hear my cause?" They questioned whether Jupiter reigned indeed, or were but a name without authority, unless he gave instant proof of his powerful wrath or displeasure against such as displeased them most. *Idem erat non esse et non apparere.* A perfect character of

[q] Mentimur regnare Jovem.—Lucan. [VII. 447.]

this passion hath the sweet Tragedian expressed in Ulysses, led into the Cyclops' den as a sheep unto the shambles. After his orisons to his sovereign lady Pallas, he thus concludes with Jupiter Hospitalis himself:

> Ζεῦ, ξένι' ὅρα τάδ', εἰ γὰρ ἀυτὰ μὴ βλέπεις,
> Ἄλλως νομίζῃ Ζεῦ, τὸ μηδὲν ὢν, θεός[r]. &c.

> O Jove: no Jove nor strangers' God in true esteem,
> Unless my woful case thou see, and me redeem.

7. The Psalmist's complaint is much more moderate, yet such as argues his faith to have been assaulted though not quailed with like distrust: *For thy sake are we killed all the day long; we are counted as sheep for the slaughter. Awake, why sleepest thou, O Lord? arise, cast us not off for ever. Wherefore hidest thou thy face, and forgettest our affliction and our oppression? For our soul is bowed down to the dust: our belly cleaveth unto the earth. Arise for our help, and redeem us for thy mercies' sake*[s]. *O Lord God, to whom vengeance belongeth; O God, to whom vengeance belongeth, shew thyself*[t]. Pettish desires of private hopes contrived with greatest policy, and solicited with all possible care and industry, finally crossed, brought many heathens (as yet they do sundry Christians) unto a point of atheism somewhat short of the former, yet as dangerous for any professed disciple of Christ to harbour at; usually discovered in bitter exclamations against fates, ill luck, or fortune. But many discontented speeches in both kinds proceed ofttimes from the heat and impulsion of present passion; whose frequent interposition often caused all former apprehensions of the divine providence or goodness to vanish, as unevenness of ground makes travellers lose the sight of

[r] Eurip. Cyclops. [353.] [s] Psalm xliv. 22, &c. [t] Psalm xciv. 1.

steeples or turrets, which they lately beheld. But as these present themselves again unto their view, as soon as they ascend unto the former level; so is it likely many of these querulous Romans did resume their wonted persuasions of divine powers, and their favour towards mankind, after their turbulent thoughts begun to settle, and their disquieted minds recover their natural seat or station. Others, more blinded by obstinacy, did finally mistrust all former apprehensions (being neither clear nor perfectly
850 observed) for mere fancies; as weak or dim sights usually suspect whether they truly did see such things as in far distances appeared by short and sudden glimpses, or their eyes did but dazzle.

8. But all in this place we intended was to search out the original, if not of all, yet of some more principal branches of habituate and obdurate atheism: unto which search this observation of indulgence to violent passions, or pettishness of hopeful desires not satisfied, was thus far pertinent; that these do settle men, otherwise by nature and education not irreligious, in the very dregs of these impieties. Nor is man, as was lately intimated, like unto inanimate creatures, whose natural disposition or inclination cannot be prejudiced by custom. Stones though they be moved a thousand times one way, their aptitude notwithstanding unto such motion is no way greater in the last course than in the first. Far otherwise it is with man, who as he hath natural apprehensions of goodness, so hath he inclinations unto evil no less inbred, or natural; the strength of whose bent to burst out into all ungodliness is always increased by their actual motions, unless reason exercise her authority over them, either by subtracting their internal nutriment, or by preventing outward occasions

which provoke them, or by taking them at best advantage (when they have spent themselves) in the retire. Not thus prevented or controlled in time, the habits which naturally result from frequency of their outrage may come to be no less stiff than they are violent. The manner how these fits of passion grow into such grievous rooted diseases, is as if we should imagine a stone by often moving downwards every time to retain some one or few, until it had at length incorporated all those degrees of gravitation which naturally accrue in the motion into its permanent weight: so as, laid in a just balance, the settled sway of it should be as great as the actual force of its wonted descent, perpetually able to counterpoise as heavy and massy a body as the fall of it from an high tower (supposing it had fallen into the opposite scale) could have stirred or elevated. Of all passions such as work inwardly are most dangerous, because their growth is insensible, and unobservable. Such are fretting jealousies, ambitious discontents, eagerness of revenge, or other desires overmatched with impotency of effecting them. Generally, all grievances which have no vent; without which human affections, like to liquors kept in close vessels or nipt glasses, secretly multiply their natural strength:

> *Strangulat inclusus dolor, atque exæstuat intus:*
> *Cogitur et vires multiplicare suas.*

As all passions obscure the understanding for the present, so the settling of them into habits brings a perpetual blindness upon the soul, always breeding either obdurate atheism, pernicious heresy, or idolatry.

851 CHAP. V.

Of habituated or settled Atheism. Why this Disease was not so epidemical in ancient as in later Times. Of the Disposition or Temper from which Irreligion or Incogitancy of divine Powers (which is the first and lowest Branch of Atheism) usually springs.

1. THE Pharisee, though for his conversation and civil carriage precise and strict in respect of most his ancestors, did yet exceed them further in hardness of heart than he came short of them in outrageousness of passion. The sight of our Saviour's miracles, and experience of his good life, would (I am persuaded) sooner have won the most idolatrous or boisterous of his forefathers than him or his sober associates unto true belief. From consideration of this his temper, besides other inducements, I have elsewhere observed people ancient (whether in respect of the general course of the world, or of succession in several kingdoms) to have been usually more rash and impetuous in their attempts, but not so settled in resolutions which were impious, as their successors in time are and have been. The bent of their nature did sway a larger compass, and (to use the mathematician's dialect) described a greater circle by its actual motions. Hence were they more easily drawn by the peculiar enticements of those times to greater outrages than men of their rank commonly by ordinary temptations now are. Howbeit for the same reason they were more quickly reclaimed by such corrections as move not our minds once set amiss.

2. And this in part may be the reason why atheism was not so habituated, nor the denial or doubt of divine providence so stiff in them, as in the irreligious of our days. Consonant hereto are the causes before

assigned of posterity's mistrusting the reports of antiquity; unto which we may add this observation, not altogether the same with them, nor quite different: The visible characters of this great book of nature were of old more legible; the external significations of divine power more sensible, and apter to imprint their meaning: both purposely suited to the disposition of the world's nonage, which for secular cunning or artificial observation was for the most part rude and childish in respect of those times and countries wherein atheism through man's curiosity came to full height and growth.

3. Those mariners with whom Jonas sailed, in calling every man unto his god, and rousing their sleepy passenger to join in prayer with them, did no more than many of their profession in this age upon like exigencies do. A raging sea will cause the natural notions of God and goodness to work in such as have taken little or no notice of them by land, as one upon this experiment wittily descants, *Qui nescit orare, discat navigare.* But few of our time would trouble themselves in such perplexity with searching out the causes of sudden storms, or if they did, the causes ordinarily assigned by the experimental weather-wizard or natural philosopher would content them. Fewer, I think, would make inquiry for whose special sin their common prayers for deliverance were not heard, seeing God daily accustometh us to like repulses in particular dangers; the oftener, no doubt, because we examine not our hearts with like diligence in like extremities, nor pour forth our souls with such fervency as these mariners did. Their resolution to find out the author 852
of their ill success, as Joshua did Achan, by lot, persuades me the observations of grace and nature

did not then jar so much as now they do; *They*, saith the Psalmist, *that go down to the sea in ships, that do business in great waters; these see the works of the Lord, and his wonders in the deep. For he commandeth, and raiseth the stormy wind, which lifteth up the waves thereof. They mount up to the heaven, and they go down again to the depths: their soul is melted because of trouble. They reel to and fro, and stagger like a drunken man, and are at their wit's end. Then they cry unto the Lord in their trouble, and he bringeth them out of their distresses. He maketh the storm a calm, so that the waves thereof are still*[u]. The like good lessons had been communicated, at least to the wiser and more sober sort of heathens, (such as these mariners were,) by the remarkable experiments of those times. And their arrival at their desired haven was attributed not to their pilots' skill, or good structure of their ships, but to the mercy of their gods, as the Psalmist, having so good matter to work upon as these and the like known experiments, in that Psalm above others, reiterates his pathetical invitations to joy and sacred thanksgiving: *Oh that men would praise the Lord for his goodness, and for his wonderful works to the children of men! Let them exalt him also in the congregation of the people, and praise him in the assembly of the elders*[x].

4. Or if the parties whose reformation I seek distrust this story of these heathen mariners' devotion, and the issue, because not related by any heathenish writers, Xenophon's observation shall justify mine: he thought it no disparagement to the valour, but rather an argument of that noble general's wisdom whom he had chosen as a real pattern for posterity's

[u] Psalm cvii. 23—29. [x] v. 31, 32.

imitation, that he had fruitfully improved those experiments of religious navigators' favour with God, and good success unto the discipline of war. "Cyrus," saith this historian[y], "made account the religion and piety of his soldiers would be profitable unto him, herein following their resolution who upon good reason chose rather to sail with men known to be religious, than with such as are suspected to have committed some impiety[z]." The manifold deliverances of seafaring men (more devout than skilful in approach of danger) publicly testified by their solemn thanksgiving, and pictures consecrated to the memory of such mercy as they had found, did furnish another heathen with arguments to evince the providence of divine powers, and their flexible ears unto unfeigned prayers: the quick reply of his adversary, "More have perished that have not been painted," whether uttered by way of disputation, in jest, or out of former resolution or good earnest, was not so witty as sophistical. For that the supplications of as many, which had perished and were no where painted, were not heard, this rather proves their demerits had made them uncapable of that favour which others found, than any way disproveth the former conclusion, that these were favoured by Divine Providence. Nor can the miscarriage of ten thousands prejudice the truth of one's confession, whose escape could not be attributed to his skill, or the working of second causes,

[y] So under correction I have good reason to esteem him, albeit Tully, as mere a child in eastern antiquities as mature in Roman oratory, otherwise censure him.

[z] Cyrus ipse religiosam suorum pietatem sibi quoque utilem ducebat esse, quum rationem eandem sequeretur, quam illi qui certo judicio cum religiosis potius, quam cum iis, qui designasse aliquid impie videntur, navigare malunt.—Xenoph. de Instit. Cyri, hist. lib. 8. Vide Coppen in Psal. x. 14. col. 169.

but unto some latent disposer of their combinations, which did appoint the limits, times, and opportunities of their working or ceasing. And this divine disposal was more conspicuous when the interposition of man's industry, or inventions for his own good, was less; God then supplied the defect of artificial cunning in every kind by such eminent and outstretched branches of his providence, as we see yet overshadow children, and men scarce masters of themselves, whom
853 danger often approacheth, but seizeth not on them, though most unable to make resistance.

5. But after the world was grown ripe in judgment and experimental inventions, the Lord did alter those legible and conspicuous characters of the common book of nature fitted for the use of children, or elementary scholars, and set forth a newer and perfecter edition of his sacred will, but in letters less legible to beginners. Now, as his written word revealed (in the gospel especially) contains a far more exquisite model of his incomprehensible wisdom than in former ages had been manifested, so doth it require more mature, more diligent and observant readers; otherwise, as many weak brains, by light or confused tampering with artificial terms, which they are not able to master or digest, utterly poison common sense; so we by negligent, irreverent, or careless hearing, reading, or meditating on these great mysteries of the Spirit, shall quite extinguish that general light of nature which did shine unto the heathen; and by disuse forget to read the book of God's visible creatures. Such, notwithstanding, is the preposterousness of human choice, whereto the old serpent still enticeth us, that although it be the first rudiment of Christian religion to renounce that worldly carefulness wherewith the minds of best heathens were overgrown, yet no age or people since the

world began did wilfully trouble themselves with more matters, or more impertinent to the main point whereat all aim, than we Christians of these times do. What would the heathens say, that should compare our practice with our principles? "Surely those Christians seek to imprison their souls in those thickets, wherein man, as their writings teach, first lost all sight of heaven, of God, and goodness." Or if God's word did not, the different faces of times, and characters of men that lived in them, set forth unto us by heathen writers, may inform us that atheism and irreligion had never grown to such maturity as to propagate their seed unto posterity but from those two principal roots: first, the intricate perplexities and uncessant cares wherewith the managing of most human affairs was daily more and more involved, through multiplicity of inventions, and solicitous inquisition after worldly means, supposed as necessary for every man to make himself by, or in one kind or other to outstrip his neighbour; the second, an intemperate affection of perfection in arts or sciences, unto which, once invented or enlarged, men attribute more than was befitting, and more to themselves than was their due for inventing and enlarging them. In both they rob God of much honour, willingly ascribed unto him by the ancient, who still acknowledged the first principles of those arts (in whose propagation posterity gloried, as if themselves had been petty gods) to have proceeded from the divine powers. Ἡ τύχη τέχνη, "Fortune befriendeth art," was but the solecism of degenerate ages: such rules as the ancients lit upon by chance, they knew not how, did so naturally imprint a feeling of the finger of God thus guiding their thoughts, that they instantly sacrificed, not to their own wits, but to the unknown suggestors of these inventions, which in the first teachers

of arts or experiments were indeed true revelations: what later ages called fortune or blind chance, primary antiquity enstyled God, and ages much declining from ancient innocency and devotion took blind chance, or fortune, for a goddess.

6. The branch which issues from the former root is in respect of true belief of the Godhead rather defective than contradictory, and resembles that defect or want which in arts we term *ignorantiam puræ nega-*
854 *tionis,* as the other, positive, contradicting, or malignant atheism, doth *ignorantiam pravæ dispositionis.* Unto the imputations of this atheism, which consists in mere carelessness and incogitancy, many are justly liable, which never perhaps so much as in their secret thoughts expressly deny the Godhead, or Divine Providence, but rather have some surmise of their existence. But this blossom comes to no proof, because it springs not from the internal notion engraffed by nature in their hearts, (whose growth the cares of life do quickly choke,) but is acquired by custom, unwitting assent, or consonancy to others' asseverations with whom they converse. This customary believer, or careful worldling's careless temper in matters spiritual, is like to a man in a dead sleep, or so drowsy that he apprehends no impression of any phantasms, yet can answer yes or no to any that urges him with a question. Briefly, the utmost degree of belief that men thus buried in cares of this world have of the Deity, is no better than such idle persuasions of love to Christ and Christianity, as have been observed in the former book. The only ground of it in many, did they well observe it, is their unwillingness to be accounted what indeed they are, mere atheists, a title displeasing to such as live amongst professed Christians. To charge a man, though on a sudden, with matters distasteful, will extort a peremp-

tory denial of that whereto he had formerly been altogether indifferent, as knowing nothing either for it or against it. As what soldier is there of better spirit, which hearing his countrymen upbraided with cowardice, or his country blemished with treacherous, base, infamous dealing, would not undertake to make good the contrary with his body against the objector; albeit altogether ignorant what domestic and foreign unpartial chronicles had testified to his prejudice concerning the carriage of the impeached proceedings. The more peremptory the one were in avouching, the more confident the other would be in disclaiming the crime objected. But should a practical head, skilful in humouring such an hot brain, strike in with them aright, and by way of sociable and friendly conference insinuate plausible reasons to mispersuade him of his countrymen's deserved praise, (which in general to believe he had better positive reasons than to deny the former particular imputations,) a lesser matter than loss of good-fellowship would make him willing to let all controversy fall, or put it off with a jest. Should we thus resolutely charge the most grovelling-minded earthworm this day breathing, with open shame for never looking up to Heaven, for living without a God in this present world, we might perhaps provoke him to pollute his first positive and serious thoughts of his Creator with false and fearful oaths in his name, that he had thought on him, that he feared and loved him ever before, as much as others. But with greater cunning than can be matched with any skill of man can the old serpent insinuate himself into our most secret thoughts, and covertly fortify our inclinations toward such baits as he hath laid, always watching opportunities of pushing them whither he sees them most inclined for his

advantage. Finally, by this sleight he works the wisest of worldly men to confess that to him, ere they be aware, with their hearts, which with their lips they would deny before men, even unto death, whiles urged with it under the style of disgrace. Or if he cannot thus far work them, he puts fair colours of discretion upon indifferency for positive resolutions, whether there be a God or no, or whether it goeth better with him that serveth, or with him that serves him not.

7. And albeit either the strength of intended argu-
855 ment, or casual occurrents of some strange mishaps befalling others by means more than human, may often rouse some actual and express acknowledgment of a Divine Providence in this worldling; yet these imaginations coming once to opposition with his stiff desires, or being counterpoised with fresh proposals of Satan's riddles, are instantly dispelled as utterly as if they had never been conceived. His belief then of this first article in the Creed is at the best no better than his was of the soul's immortality, which held it as true so long as Plato's book of this argument was in his hand, but let the truth slip out of his mind as soon as he laid the book aside, or had not the philosopher's reasons in his eye: what shall we think of him then, as of an atheist, or as a true believer? No man holdeth it any point of wisdom to attribute much unto a miser's oath in matters of gain; yet he that is ready to swear falsely by his God doth in this taking lose his former belief of him, if any he had. For perjury is the natural brood of atheism, sometime best known by the parent's name, though now it hath changed his coat, and covered itself with protestations of Christianity, renouncing nature with the tongue, as it doth the Deity in the heart. Juvenal condemns a generation of naturalists

in his time as more atheistical and perjurious than Rome formerly had known:

> *Sunt qui in fortunæ jam casibus omnia ponant,*
> *Et mundum nullo credant rectore moveri,*
> *Natura volvente vices et lucis et anni;*
> *Atque ideo intrepidi quæcunque altaria tangunt.*
> Juvenal. Sat. xiii. [86.]

Some now there be that deem the world by slippery Chance doth slide,
That days and years do run their round without or rule or guide,
Save Nature and dame Fortune's wheel: and hence, sans shame or fear
Of God or man, by altars all they desperately do swear.

8. This careless neutralist holdeth the same correspondency between the true Christian and the heathenish idolater or infidel, that mongrels do with the diverse countries between whose waste borders they have been so promiscuously brought up, that no man knows to whether people they belong, usually trafficking with both without profession of absolute allegiance or personal service to either, save only as private occasions or opportunities shall induce them. The contradicting atheists are as half antipodes to the neutralist, and full antipodes to true Christians. Their seat is darkness, always destitute of the sun, seldom partaker of any twilight. To impel the one sort as far from truth as may be, and the other no further than the midway between it and the most opposite error, is alike behoveful to Satan's purpose; a great part of whose chief cunning is to suit his temptations to men's several dispositions. Now some men there be of heavier metal, who, as they have minds perpetually touched with hopes of gain, so their gain is not gotten by gluts or heaps, but receives a slow and constant increase by continual cares and pains. These, if he can but bring to this kind of incogitant atheism, or dull

ignorance of God and his goodness, he hath as much as he desires of them. Those whom he labours to malignant or disputing atheism have usually such nimble wits, and resolutions (until they settle upon their lees) so ticklish, that did he suffer them to hover a while betwixt light and darkness, they would quickly turn upon that level whence the right aspect of heaven and heavenly powers is taken. But lest having this
856 liberty of trying all, they should come to fasten on that which is best, his policy is to cast them so far, one wrong way or other in youth, that either they shall have no thought or inclination to retire in mature age, or no strength left when they grow old to recover the miscarriages of fresh and lively motions. To sway themselves that way which nature first inclined them, or grace doth call them, is not easy to be attempted, almost impossible to be effected, by men that have been long fettered in some link of social lust or other filthiness, by men whose minds have been perpetually enwrapped in the curiosities of their proud imaginations. Those are the two special snares whereby God's enemy detains stirring spirits in the dregs of contradicting atheism. But the men of whom we now speak, such as have wedded their souls to the earth, and count toiling and moiling in gainful businesses greatest pleasures, are (as the tempter knows) of a clean contrary constitution; apt they are not to move many ways either upward or downward, but only to waggle to and fro within a narrow compass; without whose lists should he tempt them to outray much in any notorious dissoluteness, outrageous villainy, or open blasphemy, the uncouthness of their distemper procured by these unnatural motions might happily admonish them in good time to seek a medicine. The only means he hath herein to prevent them is continually to feed this their

deadly disease so kindly and gently, as it shall never bewray any danger until they be past all possibility of recovery. They go to hell as in a lethargy, or deep slumber. Muchwhat to this purpose it is in other parts of these comments observed, that the equable moral temper, which never alters much from itself, is most obnoxious to final miscarriage, because seldom so fiercely assaulted by the enemy as to occasion any extraordinary terror of conscience: and it is the less assaulted, because it seldom or lightly rebels against him. Now men never much affrighted with the danger wherein all by nature stand, nor inflamed with love of a better country than they enjoy, cannot address themselves to any resolute or speedy departure out of the territories of civil moralities, within which if Satan hold us, he makes full reckoning of us as of his civil or natural subjects; and this, as St. Gregory observes[a], is the reason why many are not molested by him.

CHAP. VI.

Of disputative Atheism; Denial of the Godhead, or Divine Providence; with the several Curiosities which occasion it.

1. FOREIGN supportance is seldom rejected by deserved fame, and men of no deserts always seek to underprop their ruinous reputation or groundless praise; some, by the place which they hold, or by the society wherein they live; others, by their ancestors, birth, or education; many, by the subject of their thoughts, or worthiness of matters which they unworthily handle. To profess noble sciences, or (at the most) to have taken degree in any, is ground enough for some men to raise themselves far above such as but

[a] Hostis noster quanto magis nos sibi rebellare conspicit, tanto amplius expugnare contendit; eos enim pulsare negligit, quos quieto jure se possidere sentit.—Greg. Homil.

yesterday were their full equals, or to stand upon terms of comparison with the best. And few there be of their own coat, that would not willingly yield to them what thus they challenge as their due, would they shew themselves either able or willing to repay that credit and estimation to the common profession,
857 which, like bankrupts or decayed merchants, they are enforced either to borrow or beg from it as from the public stock. For all of us are glad to see our own profession graced or exalted; the rather, because we hold it not safe to have our heights measured only by our personal stature, unless withal we take in the advantage of the ground whereon we stand.

2. A second main stem of habituated atheism arose (as was lately intimated) from this partial desire in professors to establish the sovereignty of those arts or faculties wherein they were best seen or most delighted. And the best means for advancing or establishing their sovereignty, was, to extend the limits of their wonted authority by reducing all or most effects to their principles; as great lawyers strive to bring most causes to those courts wherein their practice or authority is greatest. Another principal vein, serving to feed the disease whereto this partial and intemperate appetite of curious artists ministered first matter, we may (if we mistake not) fitly derive from a general aptitude of the human soul to take impression from those objects with which it is most familiar, and to judge of others by their correspondency with these. Hence, as solicitors seeking after means conducible to any end, usually intercept our desires or intentions of the end itself, for whose sake only the means in reason were to be sought; so doth the curious speculation of creatures visible divert the minds of many from the invisible Creator

unto whom the sight of these by nature not mislevelled by inordinate or unwieldy appetites would direct all. And our general facility to believe with speed what we much affect or strongly desire, brings forth peculiar pronenesses in the professors of several arts to frame universal rules (whether negative or affirmative) from broken and imperfect inductions. Now the power and wisdom of God being especially manifested in the works of creation, in the disposition of things created, and in matters manageable by human wit or consultation; Satan, by his sophistical skill to work upon the pride of man's heart, hath erected three main pillars of atheism or irreligion, as so many counter forts to oppugn our belief or acknowledgment of the Divine Providence, in the three subjects mentioned. Many natural philosophers, out of a partial desire to magnify their own faculty, observing none brought forth without a mother, nothing generated without preexistent seed or matter, forthwith conclude the course of things natural which we daily see to have been the same from everlasting; that generation had no beginning, that corruption can have no ending. The imperfection of this induction, and the overreaching inference which some in this kind have framed from a maxim most true in a sense most impertinent, *Ex nihilo nihil fit*, falls in our way again in the article of creation. The astronomer likewise finding the influence of stars by experience to have great force in this inferior world, seeks to extend their dominion over human actions or consultations; as if all matters of state or private life were by their conventicles or conjunctions authenticly predetermined, without possibility of repeal. And thus, as the moon eclipseth the sun, or lower planets

sometimes hide the higher, so have the sun, the moon, and host of heaven excluded his sight from approaching unto the Father of lights. Or if through them he can discern the truth of his existence, or see some glimpses of his general attributes, yet the eyes of his mind are so dazzled with contemplation of their
858 effects, that as the sunbeams put on the hue of coloured glasses through which they shine, so doth the sweet disposition of Divine Providence appear to him in the similitude of Stoical fate or stargazing conjectures. The politician again, noting many which profess their steadfast relying upon God's providence either often to miss of what they have sought, or never attaining to that whereto he thinks they should in reason and by example of the whole world aspire, straightway collects, the world hath no economical guide or overseer, but that every man may be his own carver of good hap or fortunes. And seeing all things (as he imagineth) revolve by uncertain chance, to appropriate some part of blind fortune's store unto themselves, to such as have wit to watch their opportunities, will be as easy as for a thief to catch a prey in a tumult, or for soldiers to rifle unguarded villages, or houses which no man looks unto. This kind of atheism often participates with the two former: for, such events as manifest the power of God, the politic atheist usually ascribes to fortune, fate, or nature; such as rightly observed set forth his wisdom, he reduceth them to the mysteries of his own act. These errors incident to the astronomer and politician, with the false inductions to persuade them, shall by God's assistance be rectified in the article of Divine Providence.

3. Many, not overswayed by affection to any pecu-

liar faculty whereto they were above others engaged, become most fools of all by curious prying into others' folly. By no other means were Protagoras, Diagoras, and perchance the crew of epicures, brought either to deny there was any divine power at all, or else to think it so uncertain as men should not trouble their wits about it, than by contemplating the multitude of errors concerning the gods or vanity of heathen men amongst whom they lived; many holding opinions about the Deity so diverse, that some must needs be false; and the best (to an observant speculator) but ridiculous. The great dissension (saith Tully[b]) amongst the learned in such importancies, enforceth such as think they have attained to some certainty in this point to reel and stagger. From the same infirmity of nature, many Christians this day living are flexible to a branch of atheism very dangerous, and much laboured by jesuitical disputes, all addressed to evince this universal negative—There can be no certainty of private persuasions about the truth or true sense of scriptures—by representing the variety of ancient heresies or differences amongst modern professors. The Jesuits' propension to this persuasion is but a relic of the above mentioned heathen Romans' disposition, more apt perchance to be impelled unto absolute atheism, by how much the multitude of their false gods had been increased. For having long sought (as it were in policy) to win the gods of every nation they knew unto their faction, and amongst all finding none able to support their reeling state, or prevent the working mischiefs of civil discord, they first began generally to suspect there were no gods, or all religion to be vain. But the manifestation of the Son of God, and daily increase

[b] Tully, lib. 1. de Natur. Deorum, c. 1, 2.

of true religion, quickly revived the dead notion of divine powers in these heathens, and enforced them to adhere to their wonted gods, in hope the truth revealed (which was to evil doers very offensive) might by their help quickly be extinguished. Nor did they want the broken inductions of antiquaries or philosophers to work a prejudice or disesteem of Christian faith. The Christians, saith Celsus[c], "which
859 adore a person comprehended and put to death, do but as the barbarous Getes which worship Zamolxis, or as the Cilicians do Mopsus, the Acharnanians Amphilochus, the Thebans Amphiaras, and the Lebadii Trophonius." It was to him, no doubt, a point of wisdom and matter of glory to be so well seen in foreign antiquities, as not to believe the newfangled devices of rude and illiterate Galileans.

4. Had not chronologers noted a greater distance of time between them than any one man's age (since the flood at least) could fill up, I should have thought Rabshakeh had spit Celsus out of his mouth. No son can be more like to his father, than the one's irreligious induction against the Son of God is to the other's atheistical collections for infringing the omnipotency of God the Father. *Obey not Hezekiah* (saith Rabshakeh to the besieged inhabitants of Jerusalem), *when he deceiveth you, saying, The Lord will deliver us. Hath any of the gods of the nations delivered at all his land out of the hand of the king of Assyria? Where are the gods of Hamath and of Arpad? where are the gods of Sepharvaim, Henah, and Ivah? have*

[c] Posthæc Celsus opinatur, haud secus nos facere, quia comprehensum ac mortuum colimus, ac Getæ faciunt, qui Zamolxim adorant et colunt, et Cilices qui Mopsum, et qui Amphilochum Acarnanes, et Amphiaraum quendam Thebani, et Lebadii Trophonium.—Orig. contra Celsum, l. 3.

they delivered Samaria out of my hand? Who are they among all the gods of the countries, that have delivered their country out of mine hand, that the Lord should deliver Jerusalem out of mine hand? This was a commonplace so plausible in those times, that the proud Assyrians took the universality of their prosperous success as a sure note that the true church, if any there were, was amongst them; that Hezekiah and his subjects were but rebellious schismatics, and their pretended piety but stubborn folly or hypocrisy. And Sennacherib himself, when he sent the second embassage to Hezekiah, hath no better argument to impeach the omnipotent Power whereon he trusted than the former induction, stuffed only with some few more examples of fresh memory: *Thus shall ye speak to Hezekiah king of Judah, saying, Let not thy God in whom thou trustest deceive thee, saying, Jerusalem shall not be delivered into the hand of the king of Assyria. Behold, thou hast heard what the kings of Assyria have done to all lands, by destroying them utterly: and shalt thou be delivered? Have the gods of the nations delivered them whom my father hath destroyed; as Gozan, and Haran, and Rezeph, and the children of Eden which were in Thelasar? Where is the king of Hamath*[d]? &c. In like manner, when the old fornicator in the comedy had abused the notion of God's providence in disposing of lots, to fortify his hopes of good luck in an evil cause, not the hypothesis only, but the thesis itself or general maxim, which Solomon had left registered in fitter terms—*The lot is cast into the lap, but the disposition thereof is the Lord's*—is disproved by his officious slave from

[d] 2 Kings xix. 10, 11, 12.

the multitude of experiences of men whose confident reliance on their gods had been defeated:

Quid si sors aliter, quam voles, evenerit?
Benedice. Dis sum fretus, deos sperabimus[e].

Abode well, and have well, on the gods I am bold,
They favour such as trust them, I ken them of old—

saith the Master.

Non ego istuc verbum emissim titivillitio.
Nam omnes mortales deis sunt freti: sed tamen
Vidi ego dis fretos sæpe multos decipi.

Tush, that's a saw, which with waste thrums I would not buy,
Not one there is that cannot thus on th' gods rely,
Yet such I have known full mightily deceiv'd perdy.

860 5. This kind of argument Satan knows to be most forcible in all ages for working atheism or infidelity in such as detest nothing more than to be held silly or credulous. To this purpose in former ages he hath had his false wonders, to discredit all reports of true miracles; and in these latter hath wrought many, otherwise famous for no good qualities, to counterfeit possessions by unclean spirits, that men out of their observation of such gulleries, or distaste of those impostors' persons, might begin to suspect the evangelical story of imposture. To some degree or other of like impious resolutions doth the natural pride of heart, or strength of inordinate desires, solicit most men of better parts or place. Confident wits joining with curiosity of diving into secrets of what kind soever, not able to find what they have long sought, are easily drawn to believe it is nowhere to be found; for who should sooner find it than they? In this conjunction of the former propension to overreach ourselves in gathering the product of delightful inductions, and of this jealousy lest others by God's graces might excel our natural parts,

[e] Plautus in Casina. act. 2. scen. 5.

fall out many fearful eclipses, which though they utterly obscure not the whole glory of the Godhead, yet they often bereave us of the illumination of his providence, or influence of graces, suspected by many in heat of emulation and opposition to be but fancies. As what man almost is there that hath overtopped others by height of place, which will acknowledge any of his inferiors (though never liable to the least suspicion of such cunning tricks as he may be daily taken with, and will not stick to maintain as lawful) to be more sincere than himself; not that he always mistrusts other men's present protestations, or professed resolutions for tendering the safety of their consciences, to be but feigned, but these he imagines would alter with change of place; from whose height every man would learn (as he hath done) either to discern wonted strictness to be but unexperienced scrupulosity, or in charity to esteem such blemishes as appear great in little ones to be but little in great ones. And it may be, curious observance of bad patterns set by others first emboldened him to adventure upon like courses. Thus finally from experience of their own, and inspection of others' liberty in matters disputable, or rather in unpartial judgments damnable, the worldly-minded labour to make up this complete induction :—that such strictness or sincerity of life as some would profess, is, in these latter days, but an affected fancy, a shadow or picture taken from the ancient, whereunto no substance can now be found proportionable. To suspect antiquity of fabulosity or hypocrisy is a degree of atheism whereunto ordinary pride or emulation (unless joined with curiosity) can hardly impel them, because few enter comparison with the dead without as great danger of disgrace for the attempt as can befall them by yielding superiority to the living, with whom they are

or can be compared for Christian integrity or sincerity. But could the opposition be as direct in the one case as in the other, could jealousy, lest former saints might go before them, as much exasperate their proud thoughts as preferment of their present corrivals doth, they would be more ready to give God's Spirit the lie, than to take the foil; rather should Divine goodness itself be denied, than any be acknowledged simply better than themselves. Take them as they be, they differ not much from Epicurus's temper, who thought the gods were not of a gracious and benign nature, because men, in his opinion, were such from imbecility only: more sottish was his collection to prove the gods had
861 human bodies, because he never had seen a reasonable or intelligent mind but in such bodies: for, as Tully well replies, he should by the same reason have denied them to have either body, soul, or being, inasmuch as they had been unto him always invisible. Thus to conclude, whilst men of proud minds and unsincere are so backward to believe any better things by others than they know by themselves or their consorts, they prove themselves to be neither wiser nor honester than he that said in his heart, *There is no God.* Though Nabals be not their proper names, yet *foolishness* is with them; and if all be as they are, *all are corrupt—all are abominable—all without understanding—without God—whose people they eat up as a man would eat bread, making a mock of the poor because the Lord is his trust.* Consonant to this secret language of these polypragmatical, ambitious, politic hearts, were the collections which their cousin Nabal uttered with his lips. Having known perhaps some fugitive servants in his time, he can hardly persuade himself that David's messengers were any better than vagrant persons, worthy to be laid fast by the heels for

demanding a deed of charity on their master's behalf at his hands. Or admitting they be his true servants, why what is David? or who is the son of Ishai? What excellency is either in father or son? Would either of them *take their bread, their water, and flesh which they had killed for their shearers, and send it to him by men whom they know not whence they were*[f]? In every covetous, churlish, proud, and ambitious mind, we may to this day observe the like promptness to suspect truth of falsehood, to put good for evil, and evil for good; to malign or vilify the best graces of God bestowed upon his servants, rather than their substance should be diminished by paying them tribute, or their reputation or worth disparaged by suffering others to render them such respect as is due to God's faithful messengers. And if by these devices they did not hope to set themselves without the reach of their check, whose right esteem, standing in direct opposition to them, would breed their reproach, the Godhead itself, the rule of goodness, should at the next push be impugned. But this is an accursed plant, which though it never grow to such height as to deny there is a God, yet may it be much more deadly than the former branches of pertinacious disputative atheism. What it wants of them in full height or growth is more than fully contained in the deadliness of the root. The other often springs from curiosity of fancy, or artificial tricks of wit, or superfluity of brain, whereas nothing but Satanized affection deeply rooted in the heart could afford such store of malignant nutriment as this hellish slip must be fed with. Nor do Satan and his angels deny there is a God, whose power they often experience to be much greater than their own. But that he is better than they are, or would be, had

[f] 1 Sam. xxv. 10, 11.

they his power; that he is more holy, true, and just, or more favourable to mankind, than they would have proved, might they have gotten that place in heaven which they sought for, is a comparison which they can in no way digest. The chief art they exercise to mislead man from the ways of truth and life, is to impeach God of falsehood, as if he would lie for his advantage as they do, without any such necessity as they have, or finally to cast such suspicious aspersions upon his laws and promises, as their incarnate instruments do upon the lives and resolutions of his saints among whom they live. The virulent censures which these slaves of corruption vomit out, give us the true taste of their master's loathsome rancour against God.

862 CHAP. VII.

Of malignant Atheism. Of the Original of Enmity unto Godliness. That the Excess of this Sin doth bear witness to the Truth which it oppugns.

1. As there is no passion for the present more impetuous than the burning fits of incontinency, no corruption that can work such strange suffusions in the eye of reason as the smoking of fleshly lust: so is there no permanent disposition of body or soul so apt to quench or poison all natural notions of God or religion, as dissolute intemperancy once rooted by long custom. Incontinency, as the [g] philosopher observes, draws us to a blindfold choice of particulars, whose universals we condemn and reject; but intemperance corrupts the very root or first principles, whence all touch or conscience of good or evil springs. If temperance, according to the inscription which it bears in Greek, be the nursing-mother of moral prudence, or safe guardian of the mind and conscience; what other

[g] Aristotle in Ethic. l. 7. 3.

brood can be expected from dissolute intemperance, but that folly of heart which so disordereth all our thoughts and actions, as if there were no God to oversee them? Civil wisdom, in Plato's judgment, may sooner entomb than enshrine herself in bodies full stuffed twice every day, unaccustomed to lie without a bedfellow by night: and we Christians know that vigilance and abstinence are as two ushers which bring our prayers unto God's presence. His Spirit delights to dwell in breasts thus inwardly cleansed by abstinence, and outwardly guarded with sobriety and watchfulness: but drunkenness and surfeiting (as a [h]Father speaks) drives him out of the human soul, as smoke doth bees out of their hives; howbeit that which goes into the mouth doth not so much offend him as that which comes out of the heart, as adulterous or unclean thoughts. Yea, the heart may be undefiled with lust, and yet unqualified either for entertaining God's Spirit speaking to us, or for offering up incense unto him. That God's testimony of himself,—*I am the Lord thy God, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt*[i]—might be imprinted in the Israelites' senses, they are commanded *not to come at their wives*[k] when they came to hear it. And there must be a separation for a time between them whom God hath joined and made one body[l], that they may by fervency of abstinent prayers be united to him in spirit. Strange then it is not, nor can it so seem, that social lust should have such peculiar antipathy with that holiness which makes us capable of God's presence, without which we are but atheists, whenas matrimonial chastity consorts no better than hath been said with the purity of angelical life; whenas the children of the resurrection (as

[h] Basil. [i] Exod. xx. 2. [k] Exod. xix. 15. [l] 1 Cor. vii. 5.

our Saviour tells us) shall no more brook the marriage bed. Now as they which in that other world enjoy the sight of God can have no mind of such bodily pleasures as may be lawful to mortality; so neither will the intemperate appetite of unlawful lust suffer mortality to see God in his word, his threats, or promises. *This is the will of God, even our sanctification, that we should abstain from fornication: that every one should know how to possess his vessel in holiness and honour; not in the lust of concupiscence, as do the Gentiles which know not God* [m]. Ignorance of God brought forth these lusts of concupiscence in the heathen; and the like lusts, as greedily affected by Christians, breed not ignorance only, but a denial of God, or of that holiness which he is, without whose symbol no man shall ever see him.

863 2. To have wrought the wise king to such gross idolatry as he polluted his soul withal by any other means than by tempting love of strange women, or other consorts of carnal pleasures, had been perchance a matter impossible to the great tempter himself. To have allured him in that age unto atheism had been bootless, whenas most of the gods which he worshipped were held as countenancers or abettors of luxury, riot, and intemperance. But now, destitute of these pretended indulgences or dispensations from supposed divine powers, by whose authority the old world was easily enticed to impurity, he labours to harden latter ages in this sin, whereto most of us are naturally as prone as were our forefathers, by persuading them there is no true God, that will undoubtedly call them unto judgment for giving the reins to headstrong lust. Hardly can atheism be so absolute in any, as utterly to free them from all contra-

[m] 1 Thess. iv. 3, 4, 5.

diction or check of conscience whiles they wallow in uncleanness, but such contradictions, compared with the strength of opposite desires, seem to argue rather light surmises or jealousies, than any firm belief (so much as moral or natural) that there is a God, or righteous Judge eternal. To hold it more probable there is such a God or Judge than none, is the lowest degree imaginable of belief, if not rather the one extremity or *ultimum non esse* of infidelity or unbelief. But this strong bent of lust, where it reigns, keeps men's conjectures of divine providence, or final judgment, below this pitch. As men of highest place or haughtiest spirits, so desires of greatest strength are always most impatient of cross or opposition. Against them conscience cannot mutter, but shall be as quickly put to silence, as a precise preacher that will take upon him to reform the disorders of a dissolute court[n]. For whiles the delight or solace which men take in sensual pleasures exceeds (without comparison) all sense or feeling of any spiritual joy, they cannot but wish to exchange their remote hopes of the one for quiet fruition of the other, and once possessed with eager desires *there might be no king in Israel*, but that every man, without any fear of after reckonings, might do what seemed good in his own eyes, their often longing to have it so, easily impels them to think it is so; for, *miseri facile credunt, quæ volunt:* and this conceit once entertained sets loose the sensual appetite to run its course without a curb: so doth presumption of uncontrollable liberty still whet the taste or sense of wonted pleasures which have been formerly abated by restraint. Lastly, from experience of this change and

[n] Dubium non est, quia tanto quisque minus dolet, quod desint æterna; quanto magis gaudet, quod adsint temporalia.—Greg. in cap. 31. Job, cap. 2.

manifest improvement of accustomed delights, necessarily ariseth a detestation or loathing of all scrupulosity, as chief enemy to their greatest good. Thus they fall from one mischief to another, until their consciences become cauterized with the flames of lust, and *being past all feeling they give themselves over unto lasciviousness, to work all uncleanness with greediness*[o].

3. All dissolute behaviour is dangerous, and serves as fuel to this infernal fire, which will excruciate that soul after death whose conscience it sears in this life: but that is much worse which is matched with haughty vastness of mind, for the most part transfused from gluttonish appetite, or the epicurean disposition. As boars and bulls, or other creatures by nature or breeding tame, only through hugeness of body or fulness of plight, grow often wild, fierce, or mankene; so men, from a like disposition of body or indulgence to brutish appetites, come to a giantly temper of mind, ready to proclaim war against heaven and heavenly powers. "What shall we think the
864 giants were," saith Macrobius[p], "but a wicked generation of men which denied the gods, who for this reason were thought to have attempted their deposition from their heavenly thrones." *He was not pacified* (saith a better writer) *towards the old giants, who fell away in the strength of their foolishness*[q]. Hence the same author prays jointly against these sister sins and twins of hell; *O Lord, Father and God of my life, leave me not in their imagination, neither give me a proud look, but turn away from thy servant a giantly mind. Take from me vain hope and concupiscence, and retain him in obedience that desireth continually to serve thee. Let not the greediness*

[o] Ephes. iv. 18, 19. [p] Lib. 1. Saturnal. cap. 20. [q] Ecclus. xvi. 7.

of the belly, nor lust of the flesh hold me: and give not me thy servant over to an impudent or giantly mind[r]. This he prays against was the very temper of the Cyclops, as Homer and Euripides have pictured them. After Ulysses and his mates had besought the giant to be good unto them for Jupiter's sake, the supposed protector of the helpless stranger, he answered him in this or like language:

Ὡς ἐφάμην· ὁ δέ μ' αὖτις ἀμείβετο νηλέϊ θυμῷ·
Νήπιος εἶς, ὦ ξεῖν', ἢ τηλόθεν εἰλήλουθας, &c.[s]

My petty guest, a fool thou art,
or sure thou com'st from far,
Thou hop'st with names of heavenly gods
the Cyclops stout to scare
Unto the gods we owe no fear,
we no observance shew;
Ourselves to be as good as they,
or better, well we know.
For goat-nurs'd Jove, his love or hate
I weigh it not a whit;
Nor thee nor thine for him I'll spare,
but as I think it fit.

His picture as Euripides hath taken it is more giantly vast: for he paints him proclaiming his belly to be the only or greatest god unto whose sacrifice the fruits and increase of the earth are due by title so sovereign, as neither heaven nor earth could withdraw or detain them. Speeches altogether as unsavoury will the belly-servers of our time belch out, though not directly against God, (because they live not in an anarchy destitute of human laws as the Cyclops did,) yet against the messengers of his sacred will revealed for their salvation, whiles we dehort them from these shameful courses wherein they glory to their destruction. And albeit they use no such

[r] Ecclus. xxiii. 4, 5, 6.

[s] Hom. Odyss. lib. 9. l. 272.

express form of liturgy as did the Cyclops while they sacrifice to their bellies, yet St. Paul's testimony is express, *that their belly is their god*[t]. And of the two priests or grand sacrificers to this domestic idol, the dry glutton, methinks, resembles the land serpent, as his brother the beastly drunkard doth the water snake. This latter is more unsightly and ugly to the eye; the former, more noisome and venomous to religious society: his enmity against the woman's seed more deadly, but less avoidable, because the working of his poison is less offensive and more secret.

4. Simple atheism consists in an equilibration of the mind, brought as it were so to hang in its own light, as it cannot see whether way to incline, but hovers in the middle with Diagoras; *De diis non habeo quid dicam*, &c.: "Concerning the gods, I have nothing to say for them or against them." Howbeit, to men thus minded it seems the safest course *lite pendente*, to sacrifice only to their own desires; and to hold God's part by sequestration. The curious
865 or disputing atheist strives to draw himself down a little below this level, by matching the attractions of divine goodness with the motions of his own imaginations. But the malignancy of this atheism which ariseth from combination of the late mentioned distempers may grow so great, as to turn the notions of good and evil topsyturvy; transposing these inclinations which nature hath set on heaven and heavenly things towards hell. As all inordinate affections more or less abate or countersway our propensions unto goodness, so the excess of such as are most malignant bring the soul to an utter distaste or loathing of whatsoever is truly good, and to delight

[t] Phil. iii. 19.

in doing mischief. Now the very procurers or advancers of mischief much affected, shall be deified with rites and titles due to God alone, as it were in factious opposition to the Holy Spirit. The same unwieldy or vast desires of sensual pleasures or contentments which disenable men to distinguish that which is truly good, from that which seemeth best to their distempers, will with the same facility draw them blindfold to a like sinister or preposterous choice of their patrons. As the truly godly, worship the true God, because his greatness is so good to all; so unto these wicked or malignant imps, that shall be lord, that shall be god, whatsoever it be which they esteem their greatest good, or under whose protection they may quietly possess what they already enjoy. We see it too often experienced, that stubborn desires of lucre, honour, lust, or revenge, draw men, destitute of other means for accomplishing their hopes, unto express and wilful compacts with devils, or performances of sacrifices to infernal powers. The observant poet makes Juno speak as great personages in like remediless crosses usually resolve:

Flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo[u].

Nor doth the language of that other aught vary from the common practice of forlorn hopes suggested by vast desires:

———*Vos mihi manes*
Este boni: quoniam superis aversa voluntas[x].

If these and the like prayers or wishes of heathen supplicants found grateful success, their second edition in plain English was thus:

What heavens have marr'd, whiles hell amends,
Fiends go for gods, and gods for fiends.

5. With many men, otherwise of sober disposition,

[u] Virgil. [Æn. vii. 312.] [x] Idem, [Æn. xii. 647.]

only too much wedded to the world or to their own wills, a sorcerer's charm will be as acceptable as a godly prayer, so the event ensuing give present content or satisfaction to their desires. Yet many atheists (as Vasquez[y] counts it a point of special observation) upon wicked practices sometimes recoil, and come to believe there is a God, or guide of nature, by evident experience of magic feats far surpassing the power of man or creatures visible.

6. It seems to me an object worthy deeper speculation of the observant, that albeit some atheists may so far abortivate or dead the seeds of religion sown in their souls, as that they shall never bring forth any express thought or live apprehension of their Creator, yet can they not utterly evacuate nature of their remainder. Either in their speeches, actions, or resolutions, they still bewray some corrupt relics of celestial infusions. And as wine and strong waters, which through ill keeping have lost their native force and proper relish, become most loathsome and unpleasant, so the inbred notions of God and godliness, after they be themselves tainted, do sublimate the corruptions of
866 nature (with which they mingle) into a kind of rancour more than naturally irreligious, such as the psalmist calls *the poison of asps.* In all the contentious quarrels usually picked by dissolute and godless persons against men of religious and unspotted life, there appears a root of bitterness supernatural or diabolical. The piety that shines in the one, the other holds in execration, and persecuteth with such a kind of zealous hate, as true piety doth execrable villanies. If they be men of better place which be thus badly minded, they exact respect and duty in such strains of passion, as if it

[y] Vasquez in primam partem, quæst. 2. artic. 3. disp. 20. cap. 4. num. 10.

were sacrilege to deny it them; albeit in other cases nothing to them is sacred, or worthy of religious esteem. The threats likewise of revenge breathed out by them in their braver humours are usually besprinkled with some flowing notions of a Divine Majesty, whereof in this humour only they are apprehensive; because the personal offence committed against their dignities cannot seem so great as they desire to make them, without deriving God's right or sovereignty upon themselves, or making him sharer in their wrongs.

7. Of some affinity, or rather of the selfsame progeny with this observation, is that sweet discourse of St. Austin, wherein he proves the desire of peace to be so deeply implanted in every man's soul, as spirits most turbulent and unquiet can never utterly shake it off, but rather of necessity (though preposterously) follow it, even in such seditious and tumultuous broils as wilfully and causelessly they have kindled. "[z]What kite is there so much addicted to solitude in soaring after his prey, which hath not his mate, whom he helps in hatching and cherishing their common brood, which preserves not the laws of domestic society with his female consort with as great peace as he can? How much more is man led by the laws of nature to maintain peace as far as in him lieth with all men; whenas even wicked and naughty men will fight for the welfare of them and theirs; and would (if it were

[z] Quis milvus, quantumlibet solitarius rapinis circumvolet, non conjugium copulat, nidum congerit, ova confovet, pullos alit, et quasi cum sua materfamilias societatem domesticam, quanta potest pace, conservat? &c.—Aug. de Civit. Dei, lib. 19. cap. 12. Omnis homo etiam belligerando pacem requirit: nemo autem bellum pacificando. Nam et illi qui pacem, in qua sunt, perturbari volunt, non pacem oderunt, sed eam pro arbitrio suo cupiunt commutari. Non ergo ut sit pax nolunt, sed ut ea sit, quam volunt.—Aug. ibidem.

possible) that all men and all things else might do them service, unless they conspire together for their peace, either through love or fear? Thus doth pride, though preposterously, imitate God; it hateth equality with all fellow-creatures under God, but seeks to exercise dominion over them in God's stead. So then it hates that just peace which is of God, and loves its own unrighteous peace, but not to love some one kind of peace or other it cannot choose. For no vice is so contrary to nature, as to raze out all print of nature's laws. Those (as the same Father adds) which disturb the peace wherein they live, do not simply hate peace, but rather covet to change it at their pleasure. It is not their will then to have no peace, but to have such peace as they will." In like manner, the fool of fools, (the irreligious politician,) when he wisheth in his heart there might be no God, desires himself might be as God. The observances which he exacts of his inferiors are many times such as natural reason, not infatuated, may easily discover to belong unto a greater power than he is capable of, whose authority he abuseth, as ungracious servants do their gracious lord's and master's.

867 CHAP. VIII.

Means for preventing Infection of Atheism or Irreligion. In what Temper or Constitution of Mind the engraffed Notion of God and Goodness doth best prosper. That Affliction gives Understanding in Matters sacred, with the Reasons why it doth so.

1. THE chief causes of atheism being discovered, the means to prevent it cannot be difficult; and these consist in this triple care: first, To preserve the heart or fountain pure and clean from all mixture of earth, or dregs of lust, in which the image of God either

cannot be imprinted, or will quickly be defaced: secondly, to keep it calm and free from agitation of boisterous or tumultuous passions, whereby the representation of impressions acquired, or naturally inherent, are always hindered: thirdly, to avoid the entangling love of wrangling arts, whose impertinent curious disquisitions, woven for the most part with obscured perplexed terms, are as a cataract upon the eye of reason, intercepting its rays from piercing into the heart, that being a deep into whose bottom ordinary sights, without these helps, as well for right proposal or representation of the object, as for the right qualification of the faculty, cannot dive. To these the reader may add the qualities before required for the right growth of faith[a]. Whatsoever hindereth it, must needs hinder all belief of the true God; and whatsoever is available for furthering it, must needs be alike available for raising belief of God's existence, his goodness, or other attributes. But of that purity of heart, wherein the right and perfect representation of the divine nature is only seen, we are to speak more particularly in the last part of this treatise.

2. Besides avoidance of these general encumbrances, a peculiar disposition or temper there is, wherein the common notion of the Deity, or divine Power, gives a more sensible crisis of its inherence in our soul. The nature of which disposition cannot better be expressed than by a temper contrary to the giantly vastness of mind, or unrelenting stubbornness of heart. It is well observed by the examiner of wits[b], that he which is by nature unapprehensive of danger, is nearer allied unto foolhardiness than to fortitude; seeing the truly valorous will in many cases be afraid, though not

[a] Justifying Faith, section the last. [b] Huartes in his Trial of Wits.

affrighted out of their wits, or further dejected than occasions require. Howbeit, the valour itself so much magnified amongst the heathen, or with the world to this day, is no fit consort for Christian humility, rather to be reckoned amongst the mighty things which God hath purposed to confound, than with the weak, which he hath chosen to confound them. The true reason why it was so much extolled above other virtues was not (the great philosopher[c] being judge) because it was by nature better, or did internally more beautify the parties' minds wherein it rested, but because it did much benefit others. The disposition which now we seek is somewhat lower, more apprehensive of death, of danger, or other human infirmities; apter to be stricken with fear of consciousness of internal evils, than to be driven upon imminent perils by popular fame. To the framing of this middle temper, between elation of mind and timorous dejection, was that counsel of Cyprian directed, *Ut cognoscere Deum possis, te ante cognosce.* Nothing is further from us (saith a learned writer) than we are from ourselves, and
868 naughty men (as Seneca saith) are every where besides with themselves; yet the further from ourselves we are, the further we are from our God. Therefore saith God by the prophet Esay, *Hear, you that are afar off:* and in the language of Solomon, in his purest thoughts, *to turn to our own hearts,* and *to turn to the Lord with our hearts*[d], are of equivalent signification. Now to know ourselves (as Tully observes) binds us, as well to a modest esteem of our own worth, or (to speak more Christian-like) of our place amongst God's creatures, as to a notice of our infirmities. Too much dejection (as St. Cyprian concludes) disposeth to idolatry, as ingenuous fear doth to

[c] Aristotle in his Problems. [d] 2 Chron. vi. 37, 38.

the knowledge of the true God. Howbeit, of such devotion as the heathens had, fear (it seems) was the mother: hence (perhaps) were they so observant first to offer placatory sacrifices to such gods as might do them harm, and afterward propitiatory sacrifices to those of whom they expected good. *Observabant antiqui in sacrificiis, ut ante adversos placarent, et postea propitios invocarent*[e]. Thus much, if best grammarians are to be believed, is curiously characterised unto us by the Roman poet, who (as this late writer complains) was much better seen in heathen rites, than Christian divines are in the mysteries of sacrifices offered unto the true God. For instance to our present purpose, when Æneas and his followers had resolved to offer sacrifice for a fair wind and merry passage towards Candie, they offer first to Neptune, then to Apollo; to the stormy winter, before the sweet spring winds:

Ergo agite, et, divûm ducunt qua jussa, sequamur:
Placemus ventos, et Gnosia regna petamus.
Nec longo distant cursu: modo Jupiter adsit,
Tertia lux classem Cretæis sistet in oris.
Sic fatus, meritos aris mactavit honores,
Taurum Neptuno, taurum tibi, pulcher Apollo;
Nigram Hiemi pecudem, Zephyris felicibus albam[f].

Again, when Dido wooed the gods with sacrifices to further her intended marriage with Æneas, though Juno were the first in her intention and esteem, as being finally to bless the match, yet she begins with Ceres, whom she feared would be most averse, as detesting all marriage, for the stealth of her daughter, married against her will; and in the next place with Apollo, who never had wife himself, and therefore bore no great affection unto marriage.

[e] Gyraldus Syntag. 17. [f] Virg. Æneid. lib. 3. v. 114.

Principio delubra adeunt, pacemque per aras
Exquirunt: mactant lectas de more bidentes
Legiferæ Cereri, Phœboque, patrique Lyæo:
Junoni ante omnes, cui vincla jugalia curæ[g].

The sum of these and like instances is, that fear was the beginning of such wisdom as the heathens had concerning divine powers: not ignorance, but fear was the mother of their devotion.

3. There is no sinew of carnal strength but secretly lifts up the heart, and sometimes the hand and voice, against the God of our strength and health. Might Caligula whensoever it thundered have had the opportunity of scouting into a place as well fenced by nature as the Cyclops' den, he would have thought as little or lightly as the vast giant did of the great God, whom he never thought of but with fear, whom he never feared save when he spake to him in this terrible language, which yet would have stricken small terror through thick rocks into such a brawny heart as the anatomy of the Cyclops representeth[h], who thought so much of the noise as came to his ears
869 might easily be counter-blasted with the like within. Minds altogether as giantly and vast are often lodged in bodies not half so huge. What is wanting to the supportance of such security in personal strength and greatness is made up by multitude of consorts; as, imagine a garrison of good fellows, so qualified as Siracides prayed he never might be, should meet in a nook or sconce, as well guarded against storm and tempest, and as well stored with victuals, as was the Cyclops' cave, what other note might be expected whiles good liquor lasted, but—"Let the welkin roar?" The best vent we can give to this natural pride, that makes us thus prone to blasphemy, would be to make

[g] Virg. Æneid. lib. 4. v. 56. [h] Vide Euripid. Cyclops.

our infirmities the chief matter of our glory or boasting.

4. As *the fear of God is the beginning of wisdom*, so the beginning of this fear is from a temper apprehensive of terrors represented in his creatures. *Primus in orbe Deos fecit timor*, was a speech uttered by an audacious hair-brain in a furious passion; no marvel if it did overlash. The present advice of the oracle did contradict his foolhardy desire of war; and to persuade his desperate companions the ominous signs related were but pretended by the prophet, he calls the original of religion in question; as if divine powers had no true subsistence, but were represented only by glimmering fear or faint-heartedness; and faint-hearted he counted all that were not so furious as himself. But unto this suspicion ingenuous fear had not been liable, unless common experience had taught him, or the poet which painted him in this humour, that men in perplexities, unexpected troubles, or fears (in human censure) remediless, are usually most mindful of God. Extremities, indeed, cause the natural notions which are engraffed in our hearts to work; they imprint not the opinion or persuasion of religion. But it is a fallacy too familiar[i] unto sober thoughts, even in their accurate disquisitions of nature's secrets, to esteem that as the total cause, or first producer, which sets nature only a working, or doth but cherish or manifest effects truly preexistent, though latent. Perchance the letting out of a little hot blood, or some other more grievous print of divine punishment, would have restored the bedlam to his right mind, so as others might have taken out that lesson from him which Pliny the younger did from his sick friend, not much unlike to that of our apostle; *When I am*

[i] See the fifth section of this book, the last chapter.

weak, then am I strong. "[k]The languishment of a certain friend," saith this author, "hath taught me of late, that we are best men when we are sickly: what sick man is tempted with avarice or lust? he is not subject to love, or greedy of honour: wealth he contemns; how little soever he hath, it sufficeth him, being shortly to leave it. Then he remembers there be gods, that he himself is but a man: he envies no man, he admires no man, he despiseth no man: malignant speeches neither win his attention nor please his inclination: his imagination runs on baths or fountains. This is the chief of his care, the prime of his desires; if it please God he may recover his former health and plight, he purposeth a harmless and a happy life. What philosophers labour to teach us in many words,
870 yea in many volumes, I can comprehend in this short precept—Let us persevere such in health as we promise to be in our sickness." That this heathen, whiles thus well minded otherwise, should be so mindful of his God, is a very pregnant proof from the effect, that the natural engraffed notions of the Deity proportionably increase or wane with the notions of moral good or evil. The cause hereof is more apparent from that essential link or combination which is between the conceit of vice and virtue and the conceit of a judg-

[k] Nuper me cujusdam amici languor admonuit, optimos esse nos, dum infirmi sumus. Quem enim infirmum aut avaritia aut libido solicitat? Non amoribus servit, non appetit honores, opes negligit, et quantulumcunque, ut relicturus, satis habet. Tunc deos, tunc hominem esse se meminit: invidet nemini, neminem miratur, neminem despicit, ac ne sermonibus quidem malignis aut attendit, aut alitur: balnea imaginatur et fontes. Hæc summa curarum, summa votorum; mollemque in posterum et pinguem, si contingat evadere, hoc est, innoxiam beatamque destinat vitam. Possum ergo, quod pluribus verbis, pluribus etiam voluminibus philosophi docere conantur, ipse breviter tibi mihique præcipere, ut tales esse sani perseveremus, quales nos futuros profitemur infirmi.—Plin. Epistola 26. ad Maximum, lib. 7.

ment after this life, wherein different estates shall be awarded to the virtuous and to the vicious; hence the true apprehension of the one naturally draws out an undoubted apprehension of the other, unless the understanding be unattentive or perverted. For that any thing should be so simply good, as a man might not upon sundry respects abjure the practice of it, or aught so absolutely evil, as upon no terms it might be embraced, unless we grant the soul to be immortal, and capable of misery and happiness in another world, is an imagination unfitting the capacity of brutish or mere sensitive creatures, as shall be shewed, by God's assistance, in the article of final judgment.

5. That sickness and other crosses or calamities are best teachers of such good lessons as Pliny's forementioned friend had learned from them, Elihu long before him had observed; whose observation includes thus much withal, that such as will not be taught by these instructions are condemned for truants and non-proficients in the school of nature, virtue, or religion, that is, for hypocrites, and men unsound at the heart. For if the root or seed of moral goodness remain sound, the maxim holds always true—*maturant aspera mentem*—adversity is like a harvest sun, it ripeneth the mind to bring forth fruits of repentance. *He withdraweth not his eyes from the righteous: but with kings are they on the throne; yea, he doth establish them for ever, and they are exalted. And if they be bound in fetters, and be holden in cords of affliction; then he sheweth them their work, and their transgressions that they have exceeded. He openeth also their ear to discipline, and commandeth that they return from iniquity. If they obey and serve him, they shall spend their days in prosperity, and their years in pleasures. But if they obey not, they shall perish by*

the sword, and they shall die without knowledge. But the hypocrites in heart heap up wrath: they cry not when he bindeth them[1]. The truth as well of Pliny's as of Elihu's observation is presupposed by most of God's prophets, with whom it is usual to upbraid his people with brutish stupidity and hardness of heart; to brand them with the note of ungracious children, for not returning unto the Lord in their distress: as if to continue in wonted sins or riotous courses, after such sensible and real proclamations to desist, were open rebellion against God. Senselessness of pains in extreme agonies doth not more certainly prognosticate death of body, or decay of bodily life and spirits, than impenitency in affliction doth a desperate estate of soul. *For the people turneth not unto him that smiteth them, neither do they seek the Lord of hosts. Therefore the Lord will cut off from Israel head and tail, branch and rush, in one day*[m]. *And in that day did the Lord God of hosts call to weeping, and to mourning, and to baldness, and to girding with sackcloth: and behold joy and gladness, slaying oxen, and killing sheep, eating flesh, and drinking wine: let us eat and drink; for to morrow we shall die. And it was revealed in mine ears by the Lord of hosts, Surely this iniquity shall not be purged from you till ye die, saith the Lord God of hosts*[n].

871 6. The reason of this truth itself, thus testified by three ranks of witnesses, is not obscure in their philosophy to whom I most accord; who teach that the seeds of all truth are sown by God's hand in the human soul, and differ only in reference or denomination from our desires of knowledge indefinitely taken. As to our first parents, so unto us, when we first come

[1] Job xxxvi. 7, &c. [m] Isai. ix. 13, 14. [n] Isai. xxii. 12—14.

unto the use of reason, knowledge itself, and for its own sake, seemeth sweet and welcome; whether it be of things good or evil, we much respect not. But this desire of knowledge, which in respect of actual apprehension is indifferent, neither set upon good nor evil, is usually taken up by actual or experimental knowledge of things evil, or so unprofitable, that our inclinations or adherences unto them either countersway our inclinations unto goodness, or choke our apprehensions of things truly good. Now after our hopes of enjoying such sense-pleasing objects be by affliction or calamity cut off, the soul which hath not been indissolubly wedded unto them, or already given over by God unto a reprobate sense, hath more liberty than before it had to retire into itself, and being freed from the attractive force of allurements unto the vanities of the world, the devil, or flesh, the natural or implanted seeds of goodness recover life and strength, and begin to sprout out into apprehensions, either in loathing their former courses, or in seeking after better. And every least part or degree of goodness truly apprehended, bringeth forth an apprehension of the author or fountain whence it floweth, that is, of the divine nature. *In my prosperity I said, I shall never be moved. Lord, by thy favour thou hast made my mountain to stand strong: thou didst hide thy face, and I was troubled. I cried to thee, O Lord; and unto the Lord I made my supplication*[o]. It may seem strange to our first considerations, as Calvin, with some [p]others, upon this place

[o] Psalm xxx. 6—8.

[p] Sicut enim ferrum quod diuturna quiete rubiginem contraxit, accommodari ad nullos usus potest, nisi in ignem conjectum recoquatur et malleo contundatur: sic posteaquam semel prævaluit securitas carnis, nemo alacriter animum ad Deum attollit, nisi cruce maceratus et probe subactus.—Mollerus in Psal. xxx. 9.

observes, that God should enlighten David's eyes by hiding his face from him, without the light of whose countenance even knowledge itself is no better than darkness. But so it is, that prosperity doth oftentimes infatuate the best men, and adversity maketh bad men wise. The saying is authentic, though the author be apocryphal, "[q]Anima in angustiis et spiritus anxius clamat ad te." *O Lord God Almighty, God of Israel, the soul in anguish, the troubled spirit, crieth unto thee.* So is that other, *Castigatio tua disciplina est eis;* "Thy chastisement is their instruction." [r]Calvin hath a memorable story of a profane companion, that in his jollity abused these words of the prophet; *The heaven, even the heavens, are the Lord's: but the earth hath he given to the children of men,* Psalm cxv. 16. The use or application which this wretch hence made, was, that God had as little to do with him here on earth, as he had to do with God in heaven. But presently being taken with a sudden gripe or pang, he cried out, O God, O God! Yet this short affliction did not give him perfect understanding, for afterwards he returned again unto his vomit and wallowing in his wonted uncleanness. This

q Baruch iii. 1.

r Cogor hic memorabilem historiam referre. Accidit nobis in diversorio quodam cœnantibus, ut profanus Dei contemptor sermones nostros de spe cœlestis vitæ deridens, subinde ludibrium hoc evomeret, *Cœlum cœli Domino.* Illic repente correptus diris torminibus cœpit vociferari, O Deus, O Deus: atque ut erat patulo gutture, boatu suo replebat totum cænaculum. Ego qui in eum severe excandueram, perrexi meo more, stomachose denuncians ut tunc saltem sentiret non impune Deo illudi. Unus ex convivis, qui hodie adhuc superstes est, homo probus et religiosus, sed tamen facetus, hac opportunitate in alium finem usus est: Tunc Deum invocas? an philosophiæ tuæ oblitus es? cur non in suo cœlo sinis quiescere? Et quoties ille tonabat, O Deus, hic alter subsannans regerebat, ubi nunc est illud tuum, *Cœlum cœli Domino?* At tunc quidem levatus est: sed quod reliquum fuit vitæ, in suis impuris sordibus transegit.

relation of Calvin's, serveth as a testimony to confirm the truth of Tertullian's observation, which serves 872 as a document or sure experiment of our last assertion: [s] *Vultis ex operibus ipsius tot ac talibus, quibus continemur, quibus sustinemur, quibus oblectamur, etiam quibus exterremur? Vultis ex animæ ipsius testimonio comprobemus? quæ licet carcere corporis pressa, licet institutionibus pravis circumscripta, licet libidinibus et concupiscentiis evigorata, licet falsis diis exancillata, cum tamen resipiscit, ut ex crapula, ut ex somno, ut ex aliqua valetudine, et sanitatem suam patitur, et Deum nominat solum quia proprie verus hic unus Deus, bonus et magnus, et quod Deus dederit, omnium vox est. Judices quoque cum testatur, illum Deus videt, et Deo commendo, et Deus mihi reddet. O testimonium animæ naturaliter Christianæ. Denique pronuncians hæc, non ad capitolium, sed ad cœlum respicit. Novit enim sedem Dei vivi; ab illo, et inde descendit.* "Shall I prove unto you (there is but one God) from his manifold works by which we are preserved and sustained, with which we are refreshed, yea by which we are astonished? Or shall I prove the same truth by the testimony of the soul itself, which though it be kept under by the prison of the body, though surrounded by naughty and dissolute education, though enfeebled by lust and evil concupiscence, though enslaved to false gods; yet when she returns unto herself out of distempers[t] (surfeit), sleep, or other infirmity, and enjoys some gleams of health, she calls on God without addition of other titles, because this God which she calls upon is truly one, truly good, and

[s] Tertullianus Apolog. adversus Gentes, cap. 17.
[t] Vide annotationes Ludovici de La Cerda in hunc locum.

truly great. What God shall award, is a speech rife in every man's mouth: unto this God the soul appeals as unto her judge. God, he sees; to God I commend my cause; let God determine of me or for me. A worthy testimony that the soul is naturally Christian. Finally, the soul, whiles she acts these or the like parts, looketh not to the capitol," (the imagined seat of such gods as the Romans worshipped,) "but up to heaven, as knowing the seat of the living God, from whom and whence she is descended." Many other authorities, which might here be avouched to the same purpose, do sufficiently argue, that the multiplicity of gods was a conceit or imagination seated or hatched only in the brain; that even the very heathens themselves, which worshipped many gods, and would have maintained their profession of such service in opposition to their adversaries unto death, being throughly pinched with calamity, or occasioned to look seriously into their own hearts, did usually tender their supplications unto the Deity, or divine Power itself, which filleth all places with his presence, whose tribunal is in heaven. Seeing anguish of soul, contrition of spirit, or (generally) affliction, cause natural notions of God and goodness, formerly imprisoned in the earthly or fleshly part of this old man, to shoot forth and present themselves to our apprehensions, in case no calamity or affliction do befall us, we are voluntarily to consort with others whom God hath touched with this heavy hand, or, as Solomon adviseth us, *to visit the house of mourning, more than the house of mirth.* Or in case the Lord vouchsafe not to send these his severer visitors either to us or to our neighbours, yet he always gives us liberty to invite another guest in affliction's room,

which expects no costly or curious entertainment, fasting, I mean: now to fast, according to the prescript of God's law, is to afflict our souls.

CHAP. IX. 873

In what Respects supernatural Grace or Faith infused is necessary to the right Belief of these Truths, which may in part be certainly known by diligent Search of natural Reason.

1. BUT if to nature not blinded by vain curiosity, nor polluted with the dregs of lust; if to men free from passion, or chastised by the hand of God, the apprehension of the Deity be clear and evident; the habit of supernatural assent unto the first article of this creed may seem either altogether superfluous, or not very necessary. Unto this difficulty proposed in terms more general—Whether faith may be of objects otherwise evident and exactly known? some schoolmen acutely thus reply; "He that by reasons demonstrative knows this or other like truths believed, that there is one God, and no more, which hath created the world, may" (notwithstanding the evidence of motives necessitating his will to this assent) "either doubt, or deem it a truth very obscure and unevident, whether God ever revealed thus much otherwise than by the common light of nature or helps of art." Consequently to their divinity they might reduce the resolution of the difficulty proposed to fewer terms and more constant, thus: The habit of faith or supernatural assent is not necessary to ascertain us that the matters believed by us are in themselves true, seeing this much (as is supposed) may be proved by reasons more evident than faith, which is always of objects unevident, (at leastwise as apprehended

by us,) but to assure us that their truth was testified or avouched by God, whose testimony cannot be known but by his express word written or spoken.

2. But if our former assertion—that our knowledge of any object cannot be more certain than it is evident—be orthodoxal, he that could demonstrate any article of belief should be more beholding to the evidence of art or demonstration, than to the supernatural habit of unevident faith. Wherefore with better consonancy to former discussions and (if we be not in both mistaken) unto the truth, we may thus resolve the doubt proposed: The necessary existence of a Godhead or supreme cause with the possibility of other things believed, may be indefinitely known by light of nature or demonstration; but so much of these or any article in this creed contained, as every Christian must believe, or (which is all one) the exact form of any one article's entire truth, can never be known by art or nature, but only by God's word revealed, or the internal testimony of his Spirit refashioning his decayed image in men's hearts according to the pattern wherein they were first created. That the resurrection (though this truth to corrupt nature seems most difficult) is not impossible, yea that it is impossible there should not be a resurrection or judgment after death, may be demonstrated; but that the wicked shall rise to torments, the righteous to joy and glory everlasting, is a stream of life which naturally springs not within the circuit of the heavens; it must be infused from above.

3. The natural man left to himself, or using mere spectacles of art, yea though admitted to the glass of God's word, will always in one point or other conceive amiss of the Deity, and transform the incorruptible nature into the similitude of corruption.

Yet further, admitting the natural man might attain unto an exact model or right proportion of faith, and assent unto the objects themselves rightly conceived, as evident and most certain, whilst their truth were 874
oppugned only by speculative contradiction; yet these persuasions would quickly vanish, and his assent once assaulted with grievous tentations of the flesh, or suggestions framed by Satan, forthwith recoil. Unto every article then in this creed faith infused by the Spirit of God is necessary in two respects: first, for framing an entire exact form of things believed; secondly, for quickening or fortifying our assent unto them as good in the practice, against all assaults of the devil, world, or flesh. Or more briefly; it is necessary both for refashioning and reviving the decayed image of God in our souls. Or, to notify the manner of our renovation by the manner of creation, the engraffed notion is the matter or subject out of which God's Spirit raiseth the right and entire frame of faith, as it did the frame and fashion of this visible world out of that mass, which was first without form, though created by him. The indefinite truth of this notion, which is the subject whereon (as the Spirit's instrument) we are to work, will better appear from the consent of the heathen; the original of whose errors or misconceits about the essence, unity, or nature of the Godhead, will direct us for the right fashioning of his image in ourselves.

4. But as it is the safest course for any man to make trial of his skill at foils, before he adventure to give proof of his valour at sharp; so it will be behoveful for us in the next place to observe the original of misapprehensions or misleadings of the imagination in matters ordinary and secular, wherein error is usually greater than the loss, that

we may be the better provided for preventing the like in matters sacred, wherein error is always accompanied with danger, wherein finally to lose the way is utterly to lose ourselves.

SECTION II.

Containing the original Manner of right Apprehensions, and Errors in Matters natural or moral.

THOUGH light of nature and consent of nations moved Tully to that undoubted acknowledgment of divine powers which we mentioned before[u], yet when he came to discuss the nature of the gods or Godhead in particular, the very multiplicity of opinions in this argument caused him to reel and stagger. And had we no better guide than nature to direct us in this search, the best of us perhaps would quickly subscribe to his opinion in his preface to that treatise: *Non sumus ii, quibus nihil verum esse videatur: sed ii, qui omnibus veris falsa quædam adjuncta esse dicamus, tanta similitudine, ut in iis nulla insit certa judicandi, et assentiendi nota,* &c. "We are not of their opinion which think nothing is true, but rather of theirs who think all truths have some falsehoods annexed unto them in such cunning and suitable disguise, as there is scarce any certain rule left for discerning the one from the other," &c. *Cicero ad M. Brutum de natura Deorum*, lib. 1. [ch. 5.] To a mere natural man or philosopher, it might well in the first place be questioned how he can possibly attain by light of

[u] See section the first, cap. 3.

nature to any knowledge of things spiritual or imperceptible by sense.

CHAP. X. 875

The several Opinions of Philosophers concerning the Manner how Intellection is wrought or produced: what is to be thought of intelligible Forms.

1. TWO maxims there be in our vulgar philosophy, which, were they fully stretched according to that propriety of speech wherein maxims should be conceived, would sound too harsh to ordinary experience to consort well with philosophical truth: the one, that our understanding is *similis rasæ tabulæ*, like to a plain table, wherein nothing is but what you list may be written; the other, consonant enough to this, *nihil est intellectu, quod non prius erat in sensu;* that the intellective soul is like an empty room, into which nothing can be admitted but what passeth first through the gates of sense. The necessary consequences of these axioms, were they true, would be these: We can understand nothing but what we hear, see, smell, touch, or taste, nothing otherwise than it appears to these senses. Doth sense then bring us in love with virtue? doth it make us hate vice? or is the shape of good and evil imprinted upon our sight, our hearing, or other organ? or how do we gather the sun to be always splendent, though it appear red or wanish in a foggy or dusky morning, or in the night appear not at all? To say the active understanding doth refine the phantasms or representations made by the sense from all material conditions annexed to them, as dross to metal, as it no way meets the former, so neither can it fully put off the latter objected inconvenience. The reply itself, were it tried by the touch as accurately as some have done it, hath

no fundamental solidity of pure philosophical truth to commend it unto foreigners, but a bare stamp of artificial language, current only by compact in the Latin schools, as brass or leather tokens are in some particular places[t]. The very inscription itself would be misliked in Greece or Athens, which never admitted any intelligible forms representative. Let such as have coined them tell us how they should be enstamped upon our understandings by the phantasms after the same manner that the phantasms are imprinted upon the senses by sensible objects; so should the understanding be a faculty as merely passive and brutish as sense, and the object of sense should be the principal agent in this work. It is true, (at least in our first contemplations,) (though denied by Aristotelian[u] interpreters of best note to be necessary in perfect contemplators,) that as there is no actual sight or vision but by beholding colours, so *non intelligimus nisi speculando phantasmata*, we actually understand not but whiles we speculate the phantasms. Yet hence it followeth not, that as vision, so intellection should be accomplished by intromission of the refined phantasms into the understanding, but rather by extromission of the intellective rays or beams into the phantasy. Not altogether averse from this opinion is an acute schoolman's interpretation of the former axiom, *Intellectum converti ad phantasmata nihil aliud est, quam movere imaginationem ad formationem phantasmatum*[w]. Admitting then the active understanding do irradiate, agitate, divide, and compose the phantasms, I would demand whether it know the things represented before it behold their representa-

[t] Vide Hieronymum provenzalem de sensu et sensibilibus.

[u] Accorombonius, &c.

[w] Ferrariensis in cap. 65. Aq. contra Gentes.

tions in the phantasy? If it knew them before, it had somewhat in itself which was not commended to it by sense. Or if no understanding be gotten 876 but by impression of extracted phantasms or intelligible forms upon the passive understanding, seeing this extraction is wrought in the phantasy, the understanding should know no more than the phantasy doth, because it hath nothing in it which was not first in the phantasy illuminated by the active understanding; nor could it ever reject any information given in by the phantasy thus enlightened (as is supposed) by the noblest faculty of the reasonable soul.

2. Others there be[x] who have well refuted all intelligible forms or impressions of abstract phantasms upon the understanding; which nevertheless, by going too far against Platonical ideas, or notions imprinted by nature, have made their own opinion (otherwise allowable) obnoxious to the former inconveniences. Actual intellection or understanding (to their apprehensions) consists wholly in the true imitation of things presented, and then we are said to understand, when the reasonable soul, Proteus like, transforms herself into new similitudes; not when it puts on their form, as it were already made fit for her, by the active understanding and the phantasy. All this being granted, the former difficulties still remain; first, how we should rightly understand the material entities never presented by sense; secondly, how the reasonable soul should make undoubted trial whether her own imitations of what sense presents unto her be exact and true. The great philosopher himself, from whose discourses the former broken axioms are borrowed, grants that brute beasts have

[x] Vide Philippum Contarenum de perfectione rerum.

no sense or apprehensions of their sensitive functions, although they have ofttimes a more lively sense of external objects than man hath: it is then man's peculiar to have a true sense and judgment of all his own functions, whether sensitive or intellective. This reflexed apprehension or revise, whether of sensitive impressions or intellectual functions excited by them, necessarily supposeth some rule or copy preexistent, by which their examination should be tried. Impossible it is, this rule or copy should be taken from sense, or any actual intellection by sense occasioned, both these being to be ruled or examined by it: *Regula autem est prior regulata.*

CHAP. XI.

How far Plato's Opinion may be admitted, that all Knowledge is but a Kind of Reminiscence, or calling that to mind which was in some sort known before.

1. PLATO'S opinion, that all acquired science is but a kind of reminiscence, though it suppose a gross error, is not altogether so erroneous but that it may lead us unto that truth from whose misapprehension haply it first sprung. That our souls whiles they lived (as he supposed long time they did) a single celestial life should be plentifully furnished with all manner of knowledge, but instantly lose all by matching with these harlotry bodies, was a conceit more witty in him than warrantable in us, unto whom God hath revealed the true reason of that problem, the desire of whose resolution enforced him to this supposal of the soul's existence before the body. More divine we know by much, than Plato could imagine any, was that knowledge wherewith our first parent's soul, though concreated with his body, was enstamped. Not Aristotle himself, with the help

of all the philosophers which had gone before him, 877
not after his laborious works *de Hist. Animal.*, could so readily have invented names for living creatures so well expressing their several natures, as Adam (not a full day old) gave them at their first appearance. Such notwithstanding as his was, might our knowledge of all things have been, unless his fall, by God's just judgment, had been our ruin. That oblivion then, or obstupefaction, wherein our souls, as Plato dreams, are miserably drenched by their delapse into these bodily sinks of corruption, we may more truly derive from that pollution which we naturally draw from our first parents; wherewith our souls at first commixture with our bodies are no less soiled, the characters of truth imprinted in them no less obliterated, than if they had been perpetually soaked in them since the first creation. All of us by nature seek after knowledge, as an inheritance whereto we think we have just title, and ancient copies (could we read them) of the original evidences which our ancestors sometimes had.

2. For what should impel us to this solicitous search no human wit can divine, unless we grant some such relics or fragments of universal truth, once had but now lost, to reside yet in our collapsed natures as ofttimes run in our thoughts, whiles surprised with oblivion of some particulars which we much desire to call to mind. As we cannot call aught to mind which we have not actually and expressly known before; so is it impossible we should certainly know any things actually or expressly, whose notion or character was not in some sort formerly imprinted in our intellective faculty. Remembrance, knowledge, (express or actual,) and these engraffed notions, differ only as Adam, Seth, and Enoch did, not by nature,

but in manner of descent. Seth had a father as well as Enoch, yet a father not begotten by a former father, but created. In like manner, knowledge express or acquired, cannot but proceed from knowledge preexistent, not acquired or express, but implanted and unapprehended. And as remembrance is but a reiteration of actual knowledge, so is actual knowledge but an apprehension of imprinted notions preexistent, though latent. These two parts of Plato's assertion we must admit as absolutely true: first, we can understand nothing without us but by recourse unto these ideal notions which are within us; not abstracted, or severed from us, as he is wrongfully charged to have taught: secondly, as for a master to seek his fugitive servant amongst a multitude were vain, unless he had some prenotions, marks, or notice of his shape or favour, or carried some picture drawn by others to compare with his face never seen by him before; so for us to seek the knowledge of any matters before unknown, unless we had some model or character of them framed by nature, would be altogether as bootless. Those ideal notions whereof this philosopher and his followers so much speak, are in true divinity the prints or characters of truth engraven upon our souls by the finger of our Creator. And so many of these prints or relics of divine impressions as we can distinctly hunt out or discover, so much of God's image is renewed in us.

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CHAP. XII.

After what Manner the ideal or engraffed Notions are in the Soul.

1. THE difficulties whose accurate discussion would clear this whole business are especially two: first,

the manner of these notions' inherence or implantations in our souls; secondly, by what means their distinct notice or apprehensions are suggested. Their opinion which think these characters, though latent, should be in our souls after the same manner as letters written with the juice of onions are in paper, though not legible, admitteth some difficulty. For were they so distinct and well severed in the soul, though not apparent, error would not be so rife when they appear, nor should the sense delude the understanding with such false shows or resemblances as it often obtrudes unto it; the flesh could not entice the spirit to embrace that for an undoubted and inestimable good, which hath less similitude with true felicity than a cloud with Juno. The favourers of the former opinion would perhaps reply, that the manner of the inherence of intellectual characters in the soul might in some sort be such as hath been said, though they be often mutually diffused one through another, as if two should write with the juice of onions upon the same paper, the one not knowing what or where the other had written; or that their fashion by the soul's too deep immersion in this fluxible matter might be so soiled, that they could not be read, but by confused conjectures, as letters written in moist paper, or it may be a Platonic would require some chemical purification of the soul unto the extraction of the distinct and proper idea of truth: however, it is an error common to him and some divines, but very inconsequent to other points of both their doctrines, that the soul of man, though truly immortal, should be of the same nature with angelical substances, which are neither apt physically to inform bodies, nor to participate of their

infirmities, or to lose their first natural light, although they were imprisoned or confined within them.

2. More pertinently to the point proposed, it may be questioned whether every specifical nature, which we understand or know, have a distinct and several character answering to it in the soul: or whether the fabric or compositure of the understanding itself includes only such a virtual similitude to the forms or essences of all things, as the organ of every sensitive faculty does to all the proper objects thereto belonging. The perception or representation of green colours is not, I take it, made upon any one part of the eye whose constitution hath more particular affinity with green than with blue or red: but the whole humour wherein vision is made, being homogeneal, hath not colour in it actually: is not more inclined to one than to another; framed of purpose as an equilibrium or indifferent receptacle of all impressions in that kind; as apt, according to every part as any, to receive the shape or image of any one colour as another. Nor doth the common sense perceive sounds and colours by two heterogeneal parts, whereof the one doth better symbolize with hearing, the other with sight; rather, the internal constitution of this faculty includes an homogeneal equability of affinity unto both these senses.

3. The soul of man being created after the image of God, (in whom are all things,) though of an indivisible and immortal nature, hath notwithstanding such a
879 virtual similitude of all things as the eye hath of colours, the ear of sounds, or the common sense of these and other sensibles, woven by the finger of God in its essential constitution, or internal indissoluble temper. Out of mixed bodies are drawn by art quint-

essences, whose substances (though subtle and homogeneal) virtually contain the force or efficacy of many ingredients. The same proportions which these quintessences have to their materials, hath the soul of man to all sensible creatures, of which it is the pure extract or perfection, in nature and essential qualities more resembling celestial than sublunary substances, albeit virtually including as great affinity to sublunaries as spirits or quintessences do to their compounds out of which they were extracted. From this virtual similitude which our souls have with all things, springs our eager thirst after knowledge, which is but a desire of intimate and entire acquaintance with their nature and properties; besides which means, there is in truth no other possible for them to come acquainted with themselves. The more they understand of other things, the better they understand themselves. Hence, saith the philosopher, *Intellectus cum factus fuerit omnia, intelligit seipsum*, "When the understanding is made all things, it understands itself." Nor could we take delight in the knowledge of any thing, unless in knowing it the soul did know itself, and become more intimate with itself. It is as truly said *optimus*, as *proximus quisque sibi*, nothing could desire its own preservation most, unless its own entity were to itself the best, and most to be desired, if it knew rightly how to enjoy itself. The reason why *simile gaudet simili*, is because the actual sympathy which mutually ariseth from presence of like natures in creatures sensible or reasonable, causeth their several identities to reflect upon themselves, and each, as it were, to perfuse itself with its own goodness which it liketh best, but whereof, without such mutual provocations, it was unapprehensive or uncapable; nothing can rightly joy but in the

right fruition or enjoyment of itself. Sense, which is the fountain of pleasure, is but a redoubling of the sensitive quality or temper upon itself. Touch is but an apprehension or feeling of its own tactick qualities, being actually moved by other of the same kind. If this motion be according to nature, it is pleasant, and this pleasure is but a reflection of the motive faculty upon itself, or motion's fruition of itself. The delight, in like manner, which we reap from contemplation, is but a reflection of these virtual ideas, or internal characters, which are enstamped upon the very substance of the soul, as the colour of fire is in blades newly come out of the forge. The Divine Nature hath fulness of joy in himself and of himself, being all-sufficient to contemplate and entirely to enjoy his own infinite goodness, without any externals to cause or occasion such reflection as we need. The angelical natures can thus likewise reflect upon themselves, and enjoy as much felicity as they contemplate of their own entity, both which they have from and in their Creator. The soul of man, inasmuch as it hath some relics of God's image in it, must needs have some seeds of moral, besides transcendental goodness, neither of which it can of itself enjoy, because not able to reflect upon itself, or contemplate the seeds of truth and goodness imprinted in it, without the help of some externals sympathizing with them, and provoking them to make some crisis of their own inherence. All the felicity any nature is capable of, is the entire uncumbered fruition of its total entity: the only means of man's fruition of himself, or of his own soul, is his know-
880 ledge. The full measure then of man's felicity must consist in the mutual penetrations and embracements of entity and knowledge; when these be thus inti-

mately and exactly commensurable, according to every degree of divisibility which either of them hath, there can be no more addition of delight to the human nature, than of water to a vessel full to the brim. And seeing as well our entity as knowledge doth essentially and entirely depend on God, it is impossible our joys should be full until we see him, and ourselves in him. In this life, as we know, so are we happy but in part, or rather *in spe*, not *in re;* when we shall know as we are known, we shall be wholly and fully happy. In the mean time, to bring our souls acquainted with other of God's works, or themselves, wherein they see him darkly as in a glass, the help or ministry of sensitive informations is alway or to most men necessary. For as a cunning architect may contrive the exact frame of a palace, or a geographer the proportion or fashion of a country in his phantasy, and yet cannot express the true conceit of either unto others but by some visible map or model; so, although the intellective soul bear the exact similitude of all things imprinted in its substance, yet is it not able to express or represent it to itself but by sensitive forms or phantasms, whose representations sometimes please, sometimes dislike this supreme faculty, as the apprentice his workmanship ofttimes doth his master, because not conformable to that artificial idea which he hath in his phantasy. Nor can it any way disparage this similitude, that the architect and he to whom the representation is made are two diverse parties; for so the intellectual soul, though but one in the work of understanding, undergoes two parts; one to represent, another to judge of the representation: the latter is wholly its own. In performing the former, it always useth the help and ministry of sense. We may conclude then as we began: It is impossible the understanding should be displeased with

any sensitive representation, or censure of their suggestions, either as false or unperfect, unless it had some ideal rule or copy preexistent, from which the disproved representations do vary: although it cannot apprehend this copy distinctly, or discern the true figure of its own idea, until it light upon some phantasm or sensible model, that may exactly fit or cause it reflect upon itself. Thus by touching the former difficulty as nearly and closely as we could, and this treatise would permit, we have been enforced in a manner to grate upon the second, which now presents itself to more particular and full discussion.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Office or Service which the Phantasy performs unto the active Understanding or contemplative Faculty, for the right Apprehension or Discernment of Truths specially unsensible.

1. THE Aristotelian maxim, *Non intelligimus nisi speculando phantasmata,* "We do not actually and distinctly understand but by speculation of phantasms," no Platonic, I take it, would deny; but whether the phantasms rouse or start the latent notions, or rather be stirred or roused themselves by the necessary connexion which the phantasy hath with the understanding, thus seeking to express or figure its own indefinite conceits, is questioned by some which deny all effluxions from objects sensible, or at least all permanent impres-
881 sions of their forms or images upon the organs of sense. Whiles sensible objects (for example, colours) are present, they grant a resultance of such a form or stamp of them in the eye, as the seal imprinteth in the wax, which notwithstanding straightway vanisheth with the removal of the object, only the sensitive faculty (in their philosophy) being thus far acquainted

with them, can transform itself at its pleasure into the same likeness again, as a cunning actor can imitate any man's motions, speech, or gesture, whom he hath heard or seen; and the more he converseth with him, the better will his imitation be. This manner of producing phantasms, I must confess, is most agreeable to the usual manner of producing effects more real, which have no sensible form or shape. Thus when one yawns another yawns, and many motions begun in one excite the like in others, not by impressions of their forms, but by mere imitation. The blood of many beasts will rise at the sight of red colours, whose forms or images cannot be imprinted upon it because more red than they: but blood being like them, it is excited by their presence or representation made in the eye; and so may this form or representation itself be only excited by the presence of the real object. In like manner may the actual motion or representation of the phantasm excite the intellectual notion answering to it; for the intellectual faculty, being more active than sense, may from the virtual similitude which it hath with all things, put on the actual shape of any which shall be represented or suggested to it. The manner we may conceive to be such, as if the eye could represent any colour, being once named, without the presence of a real object. By this declaration we may conceive how the phantasms do raise a conceit of a higher or different nature than they formally represent. As red colours do not only produce their own resemblance in the eye, but withal stir or move the blood; so, attentive inspection of sensible effects, most exactly represented in the phantasy, may engender a conceit of an invisible and latent cause which we cannot distinctly figure or express, and yet be more ravished with the consideration of it, than with the

exactest representations possible of that which caused it. The manner of our delight in this case is wrought as it were by a secret sympathy or contact not apprehended, as shall hereafter be declared. The like symptomatical conceits ofttimes accompany the formal representations of mere sense; as sight of the wolf imprints with his bodily shape a terror in the silly lamb, whereof there can be no distinct or formal representation. So with the shape or physiognomy of some men, a secret dislike doth often insinuate itself into our phantasies, of which we can give no better reason than the epigrammatist doth, though that no better than the lamb perhaps could give why he flies the wolf, could this silly creature speak:

> *Non amo te (Sabidi) nec possum dicere quare,*
> *Hoc tantum possum dicere, non amo te.*
>
> [Mart. Epigr. lib. 1. Ep. 33.]
>
> I love thee nought, Sabidius, ne can I tell thee why.
> 'Tis all I wot, I love thee not, ne can I love thee, I.

2. It is questionable whether motion make any distinct impression or representation upon the senses, or affect them only by concomitancy with objects properly sensible, especially with the senses of sight and touch. Howsoever it be, apprehension of time we have small
882 or none, save only by motion; nor can we limit or bound the parts of the one but by designing some definite and constant parts of the other. He that neither dreams nor stirs whiles he sleeps by night, thinks he is but newly lain down when he awakes; whereas he that lies waking the same time, would think a short night longer than a summer's day. How the year goes about, we could not tell but by the motions of the heavens; what a year is, we cannot better express than by the sun's revolution from some point of the zodiack to the same; nor what a day is, but by its circum-

volution in a part of the equinoctial, or other parallel circle. An hour likewise we define by the elevation of the zodiack fifteen degrees above the horizon. Thus the philosopher defineth time by motion numbered or distinguished into parts, which definition notwithstanding is not essential, but causal, or connotative. For as place surmounts all magnitude or surface physical, (seeing the highest sphere is as properly in its place as any lower,) so time is transcendent to all kind of motion, and hath a conceit more abstract and metaphysical, though not easy to be expressed without motion: Joshua, in pursuing the Amorites, lost no time by the sun's standing still; nor should we students gain any, albeit the heavens should double their wonted pace, or the stars elevate themselves thirty degrees in the space a common hourglass is in running. Or though both clocks and hourglasses moved twice as swiftly as now they do, time would be the same, but so could not the distinction or apprehension of it be to us, unless we knew in what proportion their swiftness increased; certain withal that they had an equal and constant course. If upon their variation or unconstancy we should have recourse unto the motions of our own souls or bodies, or keep a perpetual account of time (as for a space musicians do) with our hands, these would deceive us. The same motions or bodily agitations seem much longer to men well nigh wearied, than to such as are lusty or fresh. Solitariness, without corporal employment, seems long and tedious to illiterate souls; so doth vain jangling or toyings, real or verbal, to minds bent for contemplation, because in this latter case men are enforced to take too deep notice of external motions; in the former, of their own unsettled cogitations or working phantasies. All sicknesses, pains, or eager expectations, whether of release from

evils, or of accomplishing vehement desires or hopes, do double or treble the length of time in our conceit, according to the excess of pains or pleasure felt or expected. The reason is, because the notice of every several motion is more deep and piercing, and the motions are in a manner multiplied. In sickness, there is a conflict betwixt nature and the offensive humour, both which have their several sways or motions. In expectation, likewise, the soul is moved two ways, and being thus affected, the difference betwixt our conceit of time's length, and theirs that pass the time in sport and merriment, is muchwhat such as is between their progresses or mensurations which run the same race for length, the one directly and by a straight plain way in summer, the other by way of indenture, or in winter, or in a deep soil. All these argue time to have a nature of its own, distinct from motion more abstract and immaterial. And if we consider it only indefinitely, or under the general conceit of space contradistinct to distance local, the conceit of it is as familiar and obvious as of any thing sensible, but very hard to define what it is distinctly, as St. Augustine, who hath sifted this point as accurately as any philosopher could do, well observes:

883 3. "[z]What is there either more familiar or better

[z] Quid autem familiarius, et notius in loquendo commemoramus, quam tempus? Et intelligimus utique cum id loquimur, intelligimus etiam cum alio loquente id audimus. Quid ergo est tempus? Si nemo ex me quærat, scio, si quærenti explicare velim, nescio. Lib. confess. xi. cap. 14. Sed quomodo minuitur, aut consumitur futurum, quod nondum est? aut quomodo crescit præteritum, quod jam non est? nisi quia in animo, qui illud agit, tria sunt. Nam expectat, et attendit, et meminit; ut id quod expectat, per id quod attendit, transeat in id quod meminerit. Quis igitur negat futura nondum esse? sed tamen jam est in animo expectatio futurorum. Et quis negat præterita jam non esse? sed tamen adhuc est in animo memoria præ-

known in ordinary discourse than time? And surely we understand ourselves when we mention it, we do not mistake others when we hear them talk of it. What then is time? If no man ask me this question, I can tell. But if any man shall urge me to express the nature of it, I am at a stand." He finally concludes, "That time future, or to come, cannot properly be said long, because it is not. But our expectation of it" (who have souls, whose souls likewise have their true and proper duration) "is long. Time past likewise is not properly long, but our memory of that which is past and now is not, continues still, and is long [a]." As we could not measure or account motions, unless our souls had some internal motions or numerable designments, nor conceive of time without an inbred sense of our own duration or extension of our existence; so neither could we understand any things without us, unless we had some virtual similitude of them within us, as homogeneal and commensurable to their forms or essences, as our internal duration is to the duration of externals. As much as in this whole discourse we do, he did suppose which said, *Homo est mensura rerum omnium*, "Man is the measure of all things." Howbeit to the distinct expression of these internal similitudes, or latent measures of all things, the correspondency of phantasms either borrowed from sense, or framed by imitation of sensibles, wherewith our souls have been acquainted, is alway necessary. For

teritorum. Et quis negat præsens tempus carere spatio, quia in puncto præterit? sed tamen perdurat attentio, per quam pergat abesse quod aderit. Non igitur longum tempus futurum quod non est; sed longum futurum, longa expectatio futuri est. Neque longum tempus præteritum, quod non est, sed longum præteritum, longa memoria præteriti est. Lib. Confess. xi. cap. 28.

[a] Vide Plotinum Ennead. 3. lib. 7.

this reason, in this life we cannot apprehend, at least not comprehend, things unsensible and immaterial in such manner as we do matters sensible, especially visible. But to recompense this defect, the reasonable soul is more affected with the tacit indefinite suggestions or internal notions of some things unsensible, indistinctly notified, than with any sensitive representations. And no marvel, seeing the similitude betwixt her and them is more immediate and exact, their sympathy (though secret) more internal, their kindred proper and entire. With sensitive objects she hath only alliance or affinity by matching with corporal organs, without whose mediation no bodily or material natures find any access unto her, nor can she be delighted with their presence unless she see them, or distinctly view their proper shapes or figures. Discourses of colours do little delight a blind man, although his other senses be exact; he that is deaf is as incompetent a judge of sounds, albeit endued with perfect sight and accurate knowledge of all colours. In respect only of these or other proper objects of sense, that common maxim in the propriety of speech is true, *Nihil est in intellectu, quod non prius erat in sensu;* that is, "There can be no proper intellectual conceit of things sensible, unless they be first formally represented to sense, and distinctly perceived by it." Fully equivalent to this maxim thus limited (whether for use or extent) is that other maxim, *Deficiente sensu deficit ejusdem sensus scientia;* "For him that is blind or deaf from his nativity to be either a skilful painter or musician it is impossible." Howsoever, as well for attaining such knowledge of things immaterial as in this life we have, or for rightly conceiving of
884 things sensible, the phantasy serves as a glass to the understanding, and the motion or agitation of phan-

tasms as a nomenclator to the inherent notions whose notice or expression we seek, whose apprehension, till we light on phantasms fitting, is but such as we have of matters which we well know we have forgotten, but cannot distinctly call to mind. Yet, if other shall guess or name divers persons or places, (suppose the names of men or cities were the matters we had forgotten, and would call to mind,) we can easily discern whether they miss or hit, when they go near or wide of that we seek, because in hitting or coming near they start either the former distinct representation we had of it, or some especial circumstance that draws it nearer to the second birth, or new apprehension. After the same manner doth the intellectual engraffed notion, before it be distinctly apprehended, either mislike the suggestion of sundry phantasms, as apt rather to smother or obscure, than to manifest or express it, or like of others as coming near it, or being some necessary adjunct of it; but finally approves only such as have exact correspondency with it, or clearly represent it to itself, or the intellective faculty wherein it resides or moves. Hence perhaps may that main question of questions be assoiled, How we become certainly persuaded of any truth: this certainty can never be wrought but by a repercussion of the engraffed notion upon itself. Thus in all contemplations fully evident and certain, we feel a grateful penetration between the object known and the faculty knowing, and, as it were, a fastening of the truth found unto that part of the soul whence the desire of it sprung. The soul itself by this penetration becomes so fully satisfied, that the inclination, which before wrought outwardly, seeking where to rest, delights now rather to retire inwardly and enjoy itself. Our manner of examining the certainty of truth supposed to be found out is by a kind

of arietation, a trial which floating conceits, or phantasms not perpendicularly settled upon the intellectual notion, cannot abide. And without convenient and settled phantasms the intellectual intentions glance away without reflection or repercussion, and consequently without all sense or notice of the ideal rules or notions whence they flow as lines from their centre. Some glimmerings they may leave of their indefinite truth, none of their goodness, as the sunbeams leave some light or impression of light in the middle or upper region of the air, none of heat, until it meet with some solid body to reflect them.

CHAP. XIV.

What Qualifications are required in the Phantasy or passive Understanding for performing its Duty to the active Understanding, specially for the right Representation of Matters moral or spiritual.

1. FOR avoiding of erroneous conceits, as well in matters sensible as immaterial, it would be requisite to know somewhat more particularly what qualification is required of the phantasy, what of the whole human soul, what peculiarly of the intellectual and supreme faculty which sets all the rest a working, and calls all their several operations to precise examination and strict account. Seeing every thing almost that is, hath some affinity with others, and nothing can be known without speculation of phantasms, it will be hard to understand either more excellent and transcendent natures
885 truly, or ordinary matters fully, without variety of phantasms. The next thing that can be required in the phantasy thus furnished with store of models or representations, is, that it be stayed or settled:

> *Non sum adeo informis: nuper me in littore vidi,*
> *Cum placidum ventis staret mare—*

I am not so ill-favoured; I saw myself ere while
In calmer sea, a glass most true, which can no man beguile—

saith the shepherd in the poet [b]. But who hath seen his bodily shape at any time in a raging sea or swelling stream, although that concourse or efficiency which our faces or bodies afford to the production of their own images or similitudes be in all places and all times the same? So is the irradiation or agency of the active understanding, in the philosopher's opinion, perpetual, nor works it by fits or glimmering: so we were always alike apt to learn or apprehend, it is always alike ready to make us understand: for as nothing can be weary of its essence, so neither can the intellective faculty be of this its proper operation, which, as the philosopher thinks, is the selfsame with its essence. The proper essence and operation of it, is to diffuse these intellectual rays, or engraffed notions of truth: but these we always apprehend not, we remember not their apprehensions, because the passive or fashionable understanding (which some take to be all one with the phantasy) is subject to change and corruption, often so ill disposed, that either no representations are made in it, or else such as are false and unperfect. This I take to be the philosopher's meaning in these words: Οὐ μνημονεύομεν δὲ ὅτι τοῦτο μὲν ἀπαθὲς, ὁ δὲ παθητικὸς νοῦς φθαρτὸς, καὶ ἄνευ τούτου οὐδὲν νοεῖ. To think he should here give a reason why our souls after separations from their bodies remember not what they knew in them, would make his soul, I am persuaded, yet to smile, could it but read the interpreter's glosses upon these words to this purpose. Not to insist upon his authority, nor to wrangle about his particular meaning in this place, which perhaps he purposely left obscure and doubtful, all that can gathered from his reason or from experience is that the human soul hath a perpetual operatio

[b] Virgil, Ecl. II. 25.

pendent of the body, which sufficiently proves it to be immortal; but so is not human knowledge, because in the production of it the soul must be patient as well as agent, and doth not work upon itself directly, but by repercussion or reflection. And seeing these are not wrought without some concourse of the phantasy, whose operations, as itself is, are subject to corruption and change, our intellection, whether it be made by imitation or impression of phantasms refined, cannot be perpetual or immortal.

2. That potentiality or aptitude, which the soul hath to be linked and made one substance with the body, must needs abate some part of that perfection which is in angels. They are pure acts, and perpetually apprehend their own perpetual operations: the soul of man hath an immortal desire to do the like, but is held down by the earthly and mortal body, whose motions and unruly appetites do still countersway these inbred desires which the soul hath to contemplate herself, as containing the engraffed notions or similitude of all things. Hence is that which the same philosopher elsewhere excellently observes, that sense and prudence do in a manner voluntarily result from the stay or settled estate of the soul without variation. Now these disturbances or turbulent motions of the soul, which hinder knowledge, arise for the most part from
886 alliance with the body, or from the allurements of external senses. For this reason, as we said before, when bodily calamities or afflictions cut off the hopes of temporary or sensual pleasure, and untie or burst the strings which held us fast unto the pomps or vanities of the world; the engraffed notions of God's power or providence, the natural dictates of conscience, have liberty and opportunity to notify and express themselves. Then, as Pliny saith, we know ourselves to

be but men, and our souls begin to understand themselves and their former errors; they now see what precious seed was sown in them, so they had not suffered it to be smothered and choked with worldly cares, nor suffered it to starve by nourishing vain hopes of reaping foreign pleasures. And yet even whiles the reasonable soul condemns the senses for hiding this inestimable treasure of engraffed knowledge, she cannot discover it without their help; the representation is always effected by some concourse of the phantasy, in which it is first begun, as bodily pain or malady ofttimes manifests itself not in the part which is principally affected, but in some other which hath some near bond of nature, or peculiar sympathy with it. And the former fault, to speak the truth, is not in sense or phantasy, but in the reasonable soul, which suffers herself to be misled by these her servants, whose right nurture, or making, for hunting out latent truth, is in her power. But as the French, by often using the Switzers' service upon some special occasions, were sometime [c] said to have brought themselves to such a pass, that they could not manage any war without them; so the reasonable soul, being upon necessity beholding to external senses for perceiving objects sensible, by too much relying upon their informations, disenables herself for more noble employments. The strict uxorious confederacy which is too oft, enters with these two gross senses, touch and taste, and her too much familiarity with their adherents utterly dissolves her native correspondency or acquaintance with intellectual or more noble essences, which are of the same descent and progeny with her. Thus abused or misinformed, as great men are usually by their servants, she neither can desire, conceive, nor

[c] Machiavel.

entertain truth spiritual, but after a fashion merely carnal. The original or manner of these prejudices wherewith this image God is by the suggestions of sense surprised, are but such as common experience witnesseth to be most rife in every particular sense; the right frame or constitution of whose organs always supposes a vacuity of those real qualities whereof they are sole competent, and should be indifferent judges. For if any one of these qualities have once gotten possession, and planted itself in the organ, it excludes all the rest, or makes what composition it lists, often charging the external sense with that whereof itself is sole cause. As if any gross or malignant humour have incorporated itself into the tongue or palate, it either quite takes away all taste of meats or drinks, or makes such as are indeed sweet and pleasant seem just such as itself is. Or if any tincture of brighter colours, whereon we have long gazed, stick in our eyes, it either dazzles our sight, or makes us think other objects to be of the same hue with that whence it was taken. In like manner doth the contagion of every sense, or studies unto whose pleasures we are partially or too much addicted, dissolve that equilibrium or virtual proportion which our souls have with all things, and whereby they are qualified for understanding their natures, essences, or properties. Bewitching delight in mathematical speculations (though of all sensibles these be most abstract and immaterial) hath been as a false glass to pervert the sight of some in matters phi-
887 losophical, and cause them transform material natural bodies into imaginary or motionless figures. From this root spring all transformations of the divine nature or attributes, whether in the heathen, the Romanists, or true professors. Of the particular branches, with the two remedies to prevent their growth, (purifi-

cation of the heart, and sublimation of our spirit,) somewhat shall be said, by God's assistance, in some treatises following. Thus much only was here to be premised, that our engraffed notions of God's goodness or inclinations either naturally are, or by evil custom become, indefinite and indistinct, more flexible to goodness sensible than to intellectual, to carnal than to spiritual; always apt to settle, or continue their course, where they find first issue or vent, and to be most addicted to their old acquaintance.

CHAP. XV.

In what Sense it is commonly said that Sense is of Particulars, and the Understanding of Universals. Of the Manner how Sense misinforms the Understanding, with some general Advertisements how to prevent its Misinformations.

1. THAT pit wherein Democritus imagined truth to be buried was questionless the heart of man. Not much unlike unto his riddle was the saying of the wise king; *Counsel in the heart of man is like deep water; but a man of understanding will draw it out*[d]. But he must be a man of understanding indeed, that can draw any consultations God-ward out of his own heart. The relics of God's image in us are so buried in sense, that no intellectual conceit of his goodness can be fashioned without his especial providence, and the best that can be fashioned by his providence must be revived by his Spirit.

2. Sense, saith the philosopher, is of particulars; and every particular in his language, though presented to sense but as one, includes an heap or cluster of ingredients or circumstances, every one in nature m[illegible] different from other. We see the quantity, the c[illegible]

[d] Prov. xx. 5.

shape, and proportion of Socrates, with other adherents, not mere Socrates, or the individual human essence. Sense then is of concretes or congests, not of abstracts or essences, whether apprehended as universal, indefinite, or singularized. Those things we are properly said to understand, whose natures or entities are represented unto us as pure and immixed, and, as it were, dissolved from the bundle, wherein they were apprehended only in gross by sense. Whatsoever we discern can be truly avouched or denied of any thing thus considered apart, and limited by its own proper bounds, must needs be avouched or denied of every like nature so considered. And seeing things are thus considered by the understanding only, to whom this power of ventilating and sifting phantasms, or of dissolving or severing those combinations which delude sense, properly belongs; intellection, or understanding, is said to be of universals, not of particulars. Every nature thus abstracted, or conceived only by itself, without any foreign adherents or admixture, serves as a common measure for comprehending all of the same kind, and is apt to found an universal rule or definition. The falsehood or imperfection of all rules supposes some precedent defect in the abstracting or dissolving the parts or ingredients of sensitive representa-
888 tions. Many things we cannot rightly or perfectly conceive but by composition of phantasms, which can never be rightly compounded unless they be first rightly dissevered or abstracted. Sometimes we may attribute that to one nature or ingredient which is proper to some other, linked with it in the same subject, but not discerned; and then the observation is false, or true only *ex accidente, ut musicus ædificat;* as if a man should think a metropolitan should do that as privy-counsellor which belongs unto his spiritual place, be-

cause the actions of both kinds proceed from one and the same party, who notwithstanding is endued with a twofold authority. Sometimes, again, we may attribute that to one circumstance or ingredient which jointly issues from two or more; and in this case the rule fails when the conjunction is dissolved. As if we should think the moon should always be eclipsed when it is in the full, or when, after exact calculation, it is found to have the same distance from the sun which had been noted by us in two or three former eclipses. For equality of the moon's distance from the sun, unless it fall out in the ecliptic line, is not sufficient to infer this effect, if an eclipse or deficiency may properly be termed an effect. This is a rule most universal and transcendent: That every rule which holds true in some cases, and fails in others, is taken from sensitive observations, or presentments not perfectly sifted or abstracted, whose ingredients notwithstanding dissociate themselves in those particulars wherein they fail. Thus Hippocrates' rules of winds and waters held true in those regions wherein he made his observations, but not in ours; because the soil, which lay east, west, north, or south of his habitation, was of a different temper from those countries which have the like situation (in respect of the heavens) from us. Many rules again are ofttimes not acknowledged so general as they are; because we take some concurrence of circumstances or accidents, or somewhat annexed unto the latent nature whence the effect is derived, as a concause or necessary condition, whenas it was only present, not accessary to the event. Thus many people in this land are afraid to begin a good work upon the same day that Innocents' day fell o the year before, because they held the circumstanc

time as a necessary concurrent to prosperous proceedings. And unless experience did teach the contrary, a mere disputant would hardly grant hot water could quench fire; because it wants that quality which may well seem to be as a necessary concurrent to the destruction of the contrary form. The evidence of this event hath occasioned philosophers to observe a property in the fire distinct from heat, and another in the water distinct from cold, perhaps in part from moisture: which properties, sense, without the help of understanding, could never have distinguished from heat or cold. Thus are heat and cold, for want of like abstraction, taken for those qualities wherein the medicinal virtue of herbs or other physical simples properly consists. He that never had seen any creatures endued with sense and motion but such as with these have reason, no reasonable creatures but Ethiopians, nor blackness in any subject but in this kind of men, would imagine all those to be one, or each to infer others' presence. And if the understanding should not upon new observations correct sense, these collections would presently offer themselves: Whatsoever hath sense or motion, or is black, is endued with reason and discourse; whatsoever is not capable of these latter adjuncts is uncapable of the former. But once observing motion or sense in many creatures wanting the use of speech, or observing many men whose complexion is
889 far from black, or blackness in diverse subjects which neither have life, motion, sense, or reason, the abstraction of each from other offering itself would manifest the folly of former inferences. Generally, the more in number and more different in nature the subjects be wherein we observe any accident or property, the more easy and evident is the abstraction of it from

others with which it often hath conjunction. The true reason why [e] mathematical rules are so perspicuous and evident, is, because lines and figures are found in every matter that is subject to sense, as numbers and unities accompany all things we can understand. Quantity we may find in many bodies without any such concomitance as it had in others; for sundry substances, much differing in all things else, agree only in shape or figure. But where one attribute or quality is linked with another in all or most subjects wherein either can be found, the distinction between them is more difficult, unless they belong to several senses, or so belonging we usually confound their causes, or observe small diversity betwixt them. Seeing permanent colours are not usually seen but in mixed bodies, and all mixture is wrought by heat and cold, moisture and dryness, we often imagine the diversity of colours should arise from the diverse mixture of these prime qualities, (as they are reputed,) whenas the diversity indeed is from the mixture of two more simple, more immaterial, and more general and prime. As light and darkness were first created, so their offsprings or propagations (opacity and perspicuity) have first place in all bodies, alike communicable to single or compounded, to corruptible or incorruptible substances. There is no mixed body without their mixture, and ofttimes where the one is really, the other there will be by participation whether in the elements or in bodies perfectly or imperfectly mixed. [f] From the different proportions of their mixtures or combinations ariseth all diversity of colours. It skilleth not whether the fire were hot or cold, or whether the coals were dry or moist, so the one be bright, and the other

[e] Algazel, in his Logic.
[f] Vide Antonium Scarmilion de Coloribus.

sooty or dusty; the flame at first kindling will seem black, afterward reddish or bluish, lastly yellow and splendent. The original of real colours (as they call them) is no other, only the perspicuity and opacity whence they spring are more permanent, as being deeper incorporated into the matter, and the bond of their mixture more firm.

3. Most objects (as they are presented to us by sense) resemble the first chaos, or confused mass. The understanding, by sifting and ventilating the several ingredients, and assigning such as are of like natures (sorted together) to their several and proper places, imitates the great Creator of the world in extracting light out of darkness, and distinct bodies out of confused heaps, and pure celestial substances out of earthly dross. The right constitution of every art or science is a kind of creation, and their inventors come nearest to God in wisdom; yet not herein to glory, or rejoice, save only that by this clear resolution of every effect or object into its simple and prime elements, the beams of the Creator's wisdom, and distillations of his goodness, which lay buried in the confused congests which sense presents, become clear and sensible, if the mind be once touched with grace, which should never be excluded, but still implored in the search of what truth soever. For no truth can be so mean or slender, but, being made clear and evident, it may elevate the mind to which it so appears to contemplation of the first truth, and is as a step or approach to that light which
890 is inaccessible. Nor was it the search, no not the curious search of sciences natural, astrological, or politic, but the professor's slothful readiness to rely upon the representations of sense not accurately sifted, from which these three main streams of atheism before mentioned did first issue. All three (with the source of supersti-

tion or idolatry, to be prosecuted in the next [g] discourse) we may derive from a further head than there we did, and somewhat more particular and proper than was now intimated.

4. It is a dictate of nature engraffed in all, that every thing which before was not, must have a cause of its now being. And if the cause manifested not itself in the production, we are ready by nature to father the effect upon that which is represented by sense as nearest unto it. Thus the philosopher took the matter, the astrologer the stars, for sole or chief causes of all things; the politician his own plots for principal accomplishers of all those projects, whereto they concur as the dropping of a petty conduit to the overflow of a mighty river, out of which the whole stream which feeds it, and many other, was first cut. And if the event be such as hath no permanent duration, or fixed seat, but falls out now and then without any certain observation, the time and place wherein it was brought forth are usually supposed to be sole compartners in the begetting or conceiving of it, and shall, according to the goodness or badness of this their supposed brood, reap the same praise or dispraise, the same thanks or imprecations, which parents or tutors have for furnishing the commonweal with towardly or ungracious plants.

5. Nor doth sense entice unto atheism or idolatry, only by putting that usual fallacy of *non causa pro causa* upon the unobservant. But this error supposed, seeing the link betwixt causes and their effects is most strict, the multiplicity of the one suggests a multiplicity of the other. So doth every term of relation multiplied in the individual occasion us to conceive a like number of correlatives. The same error

[g] Cap. 18. sect. 3.

often insinuates itself into the proper acts of understanding: for no things in nature truly diverse can be so indivisibly or essentially continued in representations made by sense, as the object or nature conceived by us, and our intellective conceit of it; no things really different, more apt than these to present themselves as one. Now seeing our understandings cannot comprehend the entire entity of many natures in themselves most intelligible by one conceit, but must view them piecemeal, as we do many-sided bodies, or measure them by reiteration of the same or like acts, as we do large quantities by often application of the same palm or span; we slide by this means into a common error of imagining as many distinct natures conceived, as we frame conceits of it, being indeed but one and the same. Thus doth error become circular; for by conceiving things by nature diverse, whilst represented in one heap or cluster, or mutually linked together, to be but one, we come to imagine that which is but one to be many. Sometimes we imagine a diversity in the cause, which is still one and the same, from [h]diversity of place and time, which intrude themselves into our conceit of it; and sometimes again an unity or identity of causes, where there is great diversity, from the unity of time, of place, of temporary or local adherents, or other correlations always united in our conceit. The manner of the heathens' error mentioned by St. Austin was the same, only different in the matter: *Aliquando unum Deum res plures: aliquando unam rem Deos plures faciunt*[i]. If these errors
891 usually obtrude themselves in matters sensible, whereof we have distinct and formal representations, their insinuations must needs be more frequent in matters merely intellectual, of which we can have no specifical

[h] See cap. 18. sect. 3. [i] Aug. de Civ. Dei, lib. 7. c. 16.

resemblance, but must be enforced to mould them in some sensible conceit. Things rare and admirable, though in their own nature visible, yet not seen by us, but known only by report or fame, we cannot better apprehend than by comparing them with the best we know of the same kind:

> *Urbem, quam Romam dicunt, Melibœe, putavi*
> *Stultus ego huic nostræ similem*[k].

Fool that I was, great empress Rome, becrown'd with lofty towers,
I ween'd t' have been some market town, not much unlike to ours.

Though Mantua had been a meaner town than it was, yet being the fairest and best he knew, his distinct conceit of Rome unseen could not have surpassed the idea of it, save only by addition of some streets, or greater store of such ornaments as he had observed in building. But his error upon the view of Rome was easily rectified, albeit the manner of his misconceit the party in whose person he speaks could not better express unto his fellow, than by mistaking the dam for the suckling,

> *Sic canibus catulos similes, sic matribus hædos*
> *Nóram*[l]*;*————

nor the measure of it better than by comparing the cypress with lower shrubs:

> *Verum hæc tantum alias inter caput extulit urbes,*
> *Quantum lenta solent inter viburna cupressi.*

But sure this city other towns in state no less exceeds,
Than cypress tall wild limber vines, than pleasant vines do weeds.

More gross by much will our present conceits of the divine nature appear, when our faith shall be changed into sight: the best remedy not to err much, is, to hold our minds in suspensive admiration, not presuming to be peremptory in particular representations; not to content ourselves with any resemblance

[k] Virgil. Ecl. I. 19. [l] Ecl. I. 22, &c.

as sufficient, though some be more apt than others for bringing forth a more lively conceit of his unconceivable glory, or a more distinct apprehension of his incomprehensible wisdom or majesty, or more determinate notice of his immensity or infinity: but of these hereafter.

6. The sum of this discourse is, to admonish every one, that meditates on God or his attributes, to take heed to his imaginations. For besides the aforementioned purity of heart, the intention of mind or understanding to ventilate, sift, or illuminate phantasms borrowed from sense, there is required a vigilant attention in the judicative faculty; otherwise, the same errors which happen in recalling things long forgotten to mind, or dreams, will surprise our waking imaginations of God, or matters divine. He that would remember Timotheus, Theodorus, or Orosius, unless his apprehension of their names have been formerly very distinct, and his present examination attentive, would easily entertain instead of them Theotimus, Dorotheus, or Osorius. In men ignorant of Latin etymologies, *conference* will sometimes be taken for *confidence*, *offence* for *defence*, &c. Now our knowledge of matters unsensible being, as I said before, like unto reminiscence, in that we have but an indefinite or undeterminate notion of their natures and qualities, and herein short of them, that we never had an express or actual notion whereby to examine their resemblances; the substitution of any thing which hath ordinary similitude with them
892 will hardly be avoided without great attention. The manner of many errors in this kind differs only in degree from such delusions as fall out in dreams; wherein our apprehensions of proper sensibles are most quick and lively, but their compositions or

suggestions ofttimes ridiculous and absurd. Such was the temper of the heathen in respect of this polypragmatical age. Many effects, which move not us, made deep impression of a Deity, which they strangely multiplied or transformed.

SECTION III.

Of the Original of Heathenish Idolatry, and Multiplicity of Gods.

CHAP. XVI.

The general Fallacy by which Satan seduced the World to acknowledge false Gods.

1. THE manner how indefinite notions of the Deity did branch themselves into idolatry, though many have attempted to handle at large, none, in my judgment, have so directly hit, as the [m]philosopher doth in a touch or glance. The fallacy was in converting that maxim or general notion simply, which was convertible only by accident. All conceived of God as the best object they could conceive; whence many finding contentment to their desires beyond all measure of good distinctly known before, forthwith collected that to be God, which had given them such contentment. Others, more desirous to gratulate their extraordinary benefactors with more than usual respect, than able to distinguish between the several degrees or sorts of honour, made bold to borrow such as was due unto the Divine Power, therewith to gratify

[m] Aristotle in his Politics.

men, and so by custom or bad example brought posterity to pay that as an ordinary debt, which, in heat of affection or unwieldy exultation of mind had been mistendered by way of compliment or lavish gratuity. In minds not well acquainted with the several kinds of things desirable, nor with the degrees of their goodness, it is always easy for any good, of higher degree or rank than hath been formerly tasted, to intercept that respect or affection which by rule of justice belongeth only to the best. And the affection thus alienated or misguided, disenables our inclinations for aspiring any higher. For although the capacity of the human soul be in a manner infinite, and all of us infinitely desire to be happy, yet our apprehensions of goodness or happiness itself are confused and indistinct. The best of us, until God's Spirit become our guide, are no better than blind men in the choice of things good. From this native blindness of our appetites and apprehensions, we infinitely desire that which first or most frequently possesseth our souls with delight, though in its nature but a finite good, and our desires being infinitely set on that which is but finitely good, do dull our sight,
893 dead our appetite, abate our capacities of that infinite goodness which we naturally long after. Thus, as heretofore is observed[n], our desires of good ends, which admit no bound or limit, are often taken up by the means, whose acquaintance was only sought for better compassing the end. And many young wits finding unusual refreshing in extemporary exchange of jests, of pleasant discourse, or in opening some vein of poetry, are in short time brought to confine themselves wholly to this kind of diet, contented to be continually fed with froth, otherwise framed for contemplation of such

[n] Lib. 4. sect. 3. cap. 6.

mysteries as might perpetually distil nectar and ambrosia.

2. By a witty resemblance, directly subordinate to this general occasion of error here intimated, doth the noble Mornay express the manner of some heathens' seducements to worship the host of heaven. "This," saith he, "so fell out, as if some rustic, that thinks a great deal better of himself when he hath on his holiday's suit, permitted to come within the court, should mistake the first gaudy coat he met with for his prince or sovereign." Heaven they conceived to be the seat or court of divine powers, and the sun, moon, and stars, being bodies glorious in themselves, and sensible procurers of common benefits to men, partly by reason of their place, partly by that high rank of excellency or goodness which they enjoy amongst the parts of this visible world, might easily be adored for gods, by such as had small or no relish of any other good than what was sensible. Some barbarians, as is said, to this day think us Christians but a kind of senseless creatures, for worshipping a God whom we neither see, hear, nor feel, neglecting the sun, to whose comfortable beams more senses than one are beholding. This report, though not avouched by any authentic relater, whiles related in my hearing by some who avouched themselves earwitnesses of such expostulations with barbarians, I could not reject as incredible, because not unconsonant to Cæsar's narration of the ancient Germans: "[o] The Germans," saith he, "which worshipped no gods besides the sun, the moon, &c., of whose beneficence they were sensible." Their manner of life, as is well known, was

[o] Germani deorum numero eos solos ducunt, quos cernunt, et quorum aperte opibus juvantur; Solem et Vulcanum et Lunam, reliquos ne fama quidem acceperunt.—Cæsar. Comment. lib. [6. c. 21.]

but simple, without variety of trades for supplying of necessities, much more destitute of good arts, or curious inventions for ornament of public state, otherwise their gods had been more. [p] Had the mystery of printing (to omit other profitable inventions of modern Germans) been invented in those ancient times whereof Cæsar writes, Guttembergh of Mentz, to whom the Christian world is, under God, most beholding for this sacred art, might have been a god of higher esteem throughout Germany than Mercury, or Jupiter himself, or any other god of the Germans by Cæsar mentioned. For with most people of those times (as Zeno's [q] scholar had observed) any profitable invention was title sufficient to challenge the esteem or honour of a god; even the things themselves so invented, if rare, or extraordinarily beneficial, were enstyled with the attributes of divine powers. Thus, as the wise man had observed, the heathens multiplied their gods according to the variety of the matters which they principally desired or feared. And Cotta[r], deriding the somnolent and sluggish gods of the epicures, doth in comparison acquit the Egyptians from their gross foppery, in that they consecrated no beasts but for some public benefit in their opinion received from them.

3. Of public benefits, freedom from danger was held a part; whence those beasts, how loathsome soever, unto whose annoyance they were most obnoxious, were reverenced and feared as gods. Not the crocodile but
894 had his peculiar rites or pacifical ceremonies; howbeit his worshippers held it a point of religious policy to hold like correspondency with ichneumon, a kind of

[p] Vide Forcatulum, lib. 4. p. 617.

[q] Cic. lib. 2. [c. 23, 24.] de Natura Deorum, et Petrarch. de vita Solitar. lib. 1. c. 6. Vide Forcatulum, lib. 6. p. 833. ex Strabone, lib. 7.

[r] Cicero de Natura Deorum, lib. 1. [c. 36.]

water-rat, which devoured this god's young ones. To attribute divine honour unto beasts, how beneficial soever, may seem to us very gross, and without some other collateral impulsive causes, scarce derivable from the former original of this error. But whatsoever the causes might be, experience hath proved the effect not unusual amongst barbarous people in this age. "There be at this day in Samogithia many idolaters which nourish a kind of serpents, that go or creep upon four short feet, like lizards, their bodies blackish and fat, about some three handfulls in length, and these they nourish as their household gods. And whilst they come or creep upon set days by ceremonial invitation unto their meat, the master of the house with his family attends them with fear and reverence to their repast, at their repast, until they return unto their place[s]." It is a strange narration which this author in the same place commends unto us upon the credit of his host, which how far it is to be taken, I refer it to such as will take pains to read the author himself, or his words here quoted in the margin[t].

[s] Sunt etiamnum in Samogithia idololatræ quamplures, qui serpentes quosdam quatuor brevibus, lacertarum instar, pedibus, nigro, obesoque corpore trium palmarum longitudinem non excedentes, *givuoites*] dictos, tanquam penates domi suæ nutriunt: eosque lustrata domo statis diebus ad appositum cibum prorepentes, cum tota familia, quoad saturati in locum suum revertantur, timore quodam venerantur.—Sigismund. Baro de Rebus Moscov. p. 113.

[t] Cum priori ex Moscovia itinere rediens, in Troki venissem, referebat hospes meus, ad quem forte diverteram, se eodem, quo ibi eram anno, ab ejusmodi quodam serpentis cultore aliquot alvearia apum emisse: quem cum oratione sua ad verum Christi cultum adduxisset, utque serpentem, quem colebat, occideret, persuasisset; aliquanto post eum ad visendas apes suas eo reversus fuisset, hominem facie deformatum, ore aurium tenus miserabilem in modum diducto offendit. Tanti mali causam interrogatus, respondit, se, quod serpenti deo suo manus nefarias injecisset, ad piaculum expiandum, luendamque pœnam, hac calamitate puniri: multaque graviora si ad priores ritus suos non rediret, eum pati oportere.—Vide Sigismund. Baronem de Rebus Muscoviticis, p. 113, 114.

But leaving these barbarous worshippers of venomous or noisome beasts, to adore men well deserving of them with divine honour most nations have been by nature more prone, and many have had peculiar impulsions to push forward their proneness unto this sin.

4. That God in the similitude and substance of man should communicate inestimable blessings to mortality, was a tradition undoubted from the propagation of mankind. This notion supposed, that the several authors of benefits as hard by means ordinary or observable to be accomplished, as they were highly esteemed, should be taken by silly heathens for gods in men's likeness[u], is an essential branch of the former promptness to invest every unexperienced good thing with that conceit they had of the very best imaginable. Amongst the gods of the heathen, Jupiter was commonly esteemed supreme, because the imagined author of greatest benefits; yet greater than Paul bestowed upon that poor soul of Lystra, which had been a cripple from his mother's womb, no fabulous poet had reported as done by him, in all his supposed transfigurations on earth. The excellency of the good turn, whereof their eyes were witnesses, did exactly fit the best notion they had of any divine power. Hence was that exclamation, *The gods are come down unto us in the likeness of men*[v]. And because princes, or men of greatest places on earth, for reservation of state, deliver their minds by orators or interpreters, Barnabas for his silence is taken for Jupiter, and Paul

[u] Parum abfuit, quin tot provocati beneficiis, et præclare inventis rebus Gallica gens Saronem ipsum in deorum numerum referret; qui vetustissimus fuit mos gratiam bene merentibus referendi, eousque licentiæ progrediens, ut barbari quidam, quales Ægyptii bovem agrorum culturæ aptissimum adorantes, præterea feras aliquot numinum loco habuerint, quarum opera sibi subventum intelligerent.—Forcat. de Gallorum Imp. &c. lib. 1. p. 73.

[v] Acts xiv. 11.

for his dexterity of speech is named Mercury: both, if so they would, might have robbed Jupiter of his honour by the consent and furtherance of his own priests. From this people's proneness to adore them as the greatest gods which they had heard of, we may gather how easily the title of petty gods might have been purchased by any impostor that could obstupefy rude people, as Simon Magus did, with appearances far 895
surpassing their observation or capacities. How natural the apprehension of divine power is upon unusual events, how apt and flexible apprehensions so occasioned are to be misplaced upon wrong objects, cannot better be exemplified by any instance than by the barbarians' various censure upon St. Paul. The manner of the viper's creeping out of the fire, and hanging upon his hand, (after a dangerous escape by sea,) they apprehend as a document of Divine justice, making inquisition for blood: *When the barbarians saw the venomous beast hang on his hand, they said among themselves, No doubt this man is a murderer, whom, though he hath escaped the sea, yet vengeance suffereth not to live. But after they had looked a great while, and saw no harm come to him, they changed their minds, and said that he was a god*[w]. Had he himself said Amen to their motions, he might have received divine honour from them by public decree. Much better was the indistinct or confused notion which this kind-hearted people had of the Godhead, or of Divine Powers, than the speculative acquired knowledge of the true and only God, which the malicious hardhearted Jews had translated out of God's book into their own brains.

5. The Jews, in that they had entwined their own vainglorious hopes of honour and earthly dignity with that preconceit or notion which they had of their

[w] Acts xxviii. 4, 5, 6.

Messiah's glory, were often enraged against him for challenging or accepting divine honour for blessings more miraculous than that last mentioned wrought by Paul, usually bestowed by him upon their poor. For these blessings, although far surmounting all conceit of any good before experienced or expected by the poor souls relieved, were (not good, but rather) offensive to such spectators as had fed their fancies with confident hopes of a monarch, to crown them with external sovereignty over others, not a physician, to cure their inward wounds, or to set them free from satanical slavery. Howbeit, his handiworks, seconded with his words of life, usually left a true print of his divinity in the parties whom he cured; because the good they felt was greater than could be expected from any but him whom God had sent. And I am persuaded, the poor cripple of Lystra, not otherwise instructed by his mouth, which had made him sound, would have taken him either for Jupiter or some greater god; albeit Jupiter's priests, or other citizens of best respect, had maligned or vilified the cure wrought in him, in such manner as the Scribes, Pharisees, and Jews did our Saviour's restoration of the blind man to sight, the deaf, the lame, the dumb, and such as he had raised from death, or dispossessed of devils, were always ready to worship him as a God, because extraordinarily good to them. The priests, the Scribes, and Pharisees, would not acknowledge him for a good man, because not willing to feed them with hopes of such good as they most desired.

6. It is an error most incident to drudging minds, not to distinguish betwixt goodness itself, and what is good to their affections. Once I heard a poor creature complain of her deceased neighbour, that he was an hard man towards the poor. Being asked what reason

she had so to censure him, the reply was, that he had given somewhat to every poor in the parish besides herself; though she, as far as I could learn, was only forgotten, not excepted against upon any spleen. From some spice of this drowsy error the best of us are not free, always by nature, not rectified or overruled by grace, prone to love that best which seems best unto 896 us, not what absolutely and in itself is such. From this partial inclination were many obscure imaginary powers, scarce known to neighbour countries, more honoured in some private cities, to which they had been principal benefactors, than Jupiter, or other famous gods. "The Alabandenses," saith Tully, "do more religiously worship one Alabandus, the founder of their city, than they do any of their greater or more famous gods[x]." Cominæus[y] hath acquainted us with the like humour in certain professed Romish catholic Christians, which made no scruple of worshipping such men for saints after death, as in their lives and actions had more resembled Satan and his wicked angels. From the common notion that saints are the best of men, they did by the usual fallacy misconceive, and upon their misconceit admit, all such for saints as had dealt best with them, though perhaps much better than in conscience they ought, and to the great prejudice of many others much better deserving favour and beneficence.

7. Unto a more detestable kind of idolatry many

[x] Alabandenses quidem sanctius Alabandum colunt; a quo est urbs illa condita, quam quenquam nobilium deorum.—Cicero, lib. 3. de Natura Deorum [c. 20]; et Gyraldus, p. 65.

[y] Crudeliter iste et superbe imperaverat, sed largitionibus plurimum poterat. Vide sepulchrum ejus in Carthusianorum templo Papiæ, cumque ex iis quidam inter spectandum mihi virtutem ejus prædicaret, ac sanctimoniam tribueret: cur, inquam ego, sanctum appellas? vides ibi multorum populorum insignia depicta, quos ille sibi nullo jure subegit. Tum iste: Nos inquit, consuetudine quadam sanctos vocamus eos, qui nobis benefecerint.—Philip. Cominæus de Bello Neap. lib. 1. p. 545.

heathens were, many Christians yet are brought, by mere excess of the like self-love, or partial and corrupt affection, even to deify any kind of delightsome filthiness or beneficial villainy, or to imagine some one or other divine power patron of such practices as they fear might otherwise be controlled by man's authority. Whatsoever it be whereon our affections are most set, that is indeed and truth our only god, and would be solemnly adored with divine worship, did not our natural fear of civil shame or public infamy, likely to redound for revolting from the rule of life generally acknowledged, restrain our motive faculties from acting those parts which have been designed unto them by the vain imaginations of our wicked hearts. Inasmuch as the heart of man is God's peculiar inheritance, with whose entire faculties he requires to be adored and served, this inheritance being once alienated from him, doth naturally draw the appertenances after it, even all such homage and services as are due unto his sacred Majesty, bestowing them upon those matters, whatsoever they be, upon which it hath once bestowed itself. Thus might the wanton strumpet have been invested with the most glorious attributes of divine goodness that the lascivious poet in heat of lust could have invented:

Ilia et Egeria est: do nomen quodlibet illi[z].

8. *Covetousness* (in St. Paul's divinity) *is idolatry*[a]. With this written verity most agreeable was the natural notion of those poor barbarous Indians, which imagined the Spaniards had no other God besides gold, or none so dear unto them as this metal was, because they saw them hunt so greedily after it both by sea and land. Their inordinate and excessive coveting after it made the barbarians to commit idolatry with it.

[z] Horace [Sat. I. ii. 126.]

[a] Ephes. v. 5.

CHAP. XVII. 897

The more special Fallacies by which Satan seduced the Heathen to multiply their Gods in excessive Manner.

1. ALTHOUGH it be true which hath been said, that nothing was by nature or condition so vile as not to be capable of high place amongst the heathenish gods, yet unto that extremity, of multiplying their gods according to the number of their conceits, the heathens did not slide but by succession and degrees. The Persians, as St. Austin tells us[c], worshipped no more gods than two, one good and another evil, whom they likewise accounted good so long as he did no ill to them. How evil should be without a cause, or how good and evil should both proceed from one cause, or, finally, how evil (being no part of nothing) should come into the world, seeing the world's creation was but an effect of the almighty Creator's goodness in communicating his being unto all things, are points so ill expressed by most Christians, that the grossest errors of the heathens concerning them may seem very pardonable. From these Persian magis the Manichees, it seems, derive their heresies: both of them, as most other heathens, had a true apprehension, though both failed in their judgment, or composition, of those divine oracles;

1. *Is there any evil done in the city, which I have not caused*[d]*?*
2. *Every good gift is from above*[e].

Before multiplicity of businesses or artificial curiosities benumbed the sense of nature, every extraordinary or remarkable effect was unto men a sensible sign

[c] Aug. lib. 5. de Civit. Dei, cap. 21. [d] Amos iii. 6. [e] James i. 17

and witness of an invisible power bringing things that were not to light, Rom. i. 20.

2. The first roots of that unrighteousness wherein they held the truth, thus, in a manner, desirous to manifest itself, were, 1. Carelessness in observing the notifications of divine power; 2. Neglect to tender such dutiful service as the more evident manifestations of his goodness did in a sort demand. The prime seed of both these roots was the imbecility of corrupted nature, whose chief and supreme faculties, though well instructed, are always apt to be overborne with the inbred and accustomed desires of sense. Of the forementioned apprehension or acknowledgment of some invisible power, as chief author of good and evil, one immediate consequence was this; That the same power, whether one or mo, was the rewarder of such as sought to please him, and an avenger of those that neglected or offended it. Whence, in minds misled by their corrupt appetites, the best and final consequence of the former apprehensions or notions, was, to woo the supposed divine powers by all means possible to patronise themselves and their actions, though unjust, dishonest, or suspicious, rather than to submit their wills and affections wholly to their disposals, or so to frame their lives as they might be capable of their just favours. And as unskilful empirics seek remedy from every medicine they have read or heard of, because they know not the distinct virtue of any, or how it is proportioned to the effect they aim at; so these poor blind heathen, daily more and more ignorant in the grounds of true religion, did as it were grope after a new invisible power in every visible effect, until at length they came to
898 subdivide and break the general notion according to the distinction or number of the sensibles which

they best or worst affected. That every visible effect had an invisible cause, was rightly proposed; but from this principle they slipped into an erroneous assumption, that there should be as many invisible causes as there be distinct or visible events. The fallacy is easily put upon vulgar or somnolent wits; as if one should say he had ten brethren, and every of them a sister, some men's minds would forthwith run upon two and twenty brothers and sisters. Whether there be as many paternities or fatherhoods in the father as he hath sons is sometimes questioned in the schools, and hard universally to determine whether in this sense *quot modis dicitur unum relatorum, tot modis dicitur et alterum* "whether terms formally relative always multiply according to the number of their proper correlatives?" Now to distinguish aright between the formal relation and its immediate ground, will in many subjects trouble greatest artists. Well then might the heathen (though ill they did in so doing) imagine as many invisible powers as they observed effects produced by causes invisible, or (as the learned Hooker saith) "dream of as many guides of nature as they saw guides of things natural."

3. After once their scattered imaginations had given admission to this erroneous representation or conjecture of many invisible powers, distinct names or titles were sought for them from the effects which they had caused. As in this land, before surnames continued in succession, men commonly took their names from the places of their birth or dwelling, or from events peculiar to them; as strangers in some places yet (if their names be hard to be pronounced or remembered) are usually called by the places from whence they came, if these be famous, or have sent forth few or none besides to the coasts where

they remain. So the image which Titus Tatius found, because the party whom it represented was altogether unknown, was named Cloacina, from a very homely place, if it should be expressed in English. Or as they framed several gods according to the variety of their intemperate desires, so they usually derived their titles from the matters whose avoidance or fruition they most desired: as we give extrinsical denominations to objects from the reference they have to our internal faculties; as some, we say, are intelligible, others amiable: goddesses of this rank were Volupia and Libentina, &c.

4. Not a joint almost in a man's body but had a peculiar god among the Romans, whereby they witnessed some scattered relics or imperfect characters of what the Psalmist saith in other terms to have been written in their hearts; *In thy book were all my members written, when as not one of them was yet made*[f]. All, at least in their opinion, were under the tuition of some divine powers, by whose means they hoped they might be preserved sound, or to have them healed if they were amiss. And not knowing unto what peculiar god or goddess to tender their service, or direct their prayers, for this purpose they gave names to the supposed latent powers from the place affected[g]; *In ipsa terra aliud Terram, aliud Tellurem, aliud Tellumonem putant*[h]. The variety of transmutations conspicuous in the growth of corn brought forth a multiplicity of gods, distinguished only by names proportionate to the effects. They could not find (saith St. Augustine) one Segetia, or
899 goddess of corn, unto whose care and trust they might safely commend it from the sowing till the

[f] Psalm cxxxix. 16.
[g] See Blondus.
[h] Aug. de Civit. Dei, lib. 4. cap. 10.

reaping. Corn sown, whilst under the ground, was under the protection of Seia; after it came up, *ut segetem faceret*, it changed the former guardian for Segetia. Not the very knots of the straw or reed but had a protector, from his office entitled Nodotus. Because they feared rust or canker, rightly imagining that both these usually came (as some northern men speak) by the *seand* of God, they dreamed of a god of rust or canker; doubtless a rusty god, yet in their opinion to be pacified with solemn rites and ceremonies. Every housekeeper, saith the same Father, sets but one to keep the door, and being a man, but one sufficeth: unto this office, notwithstanding, were three gods deputed by the Romans; *Forculus foribus, Cardea cardini, Limentinus limini:* one, Forculus, to the fore door; another, to the hinges or turnings; and a third to the thresholds; all taking their titles from the petty places whereof they were reputed presidents[i].

5. But many other events fell out besides or above men's expectations, wanting permanency of being, or such peculiar references, or determinations of circumstances, as might derive a perpetual name to their supposed authors. Howbeit, rather than these should be seized upon as escheats, falling to men without the knowledge or direction of divine powers, unto whom they were to be accountable for them, even these were ascribed to some god, though they knew not to whom. So most learned expositors probably think that altar which St. Paul found at Athens had been erected upon occasion of some famous victory, whose procurement the Athenians not knowing by any circumstance unto what known god it might be ascribed, and hence fearing, lest by attributing it to any of those gods

[i] Aug. de Civitate Dei, lib. 4. c. 8.

whom they worshipped, the true author of it might be wronged or neglected, they ascribed it *Ignoto Deo,* "To the unknown god;" well hoping he would make himself known by granting more victories, being thus honoured for the former. With like gratifications did the Romans strive to win the gods of all the nations they had conquered to favour their conquests. Some good perhaps they had heard done by them unto their followers (as God, in opposition to atheism and irreligion, did reward the blind devotion of the heathen with extraordinary temporal blessings); and that any nation should be in greater favour, though with their own gods, than themselves, this proud people did brook as ill, as great corporations do to be outvied by lesser in meriting the favour of great personages by rich presents, solemn invitations, or costly entertainments. Nor is it strange the ignorant heathen should be overtaken with this humour, wherewith an untoward branch of David's stock was desperately tainted: *In the time of his tribulation did he yet trespass more against the Lord: this is king Ahaz* (so unwilling is the Spirit his name should be concealed). *For he sacrificed unto the gods of Damascus, which plagued him: and he said, Because the gods of the king of Aram helped him, I will sacrifice unto them, and they will help me*[k]. These were gods which his fathers had not known, perhaps not heard of; he only knew them from the place.

6. From the former principle (that every visible effect must have a cause) did the ancient Romans, as religiously as wisely, collect, that such events as fell out besides the intention of man, or any ordinary or observable course appointed by nature, were even for this reason, in some peculiar sort, to be referred unto

[k] 2 Chron. xxviii. 22, 23.

the providence of some divine power. And rather than the visible author should lose his right for want 900 of a distinct name, the manner of the event was made a godfather or godmother: hence had Fortune more temples in Rome than any god or goddess besides. And seeing of such events as have no observable cause in nature, or human intention, but fall out (as we say) by chance, some were very good, others disastrous, bad Fortune had her rites and honours as well as good Fortune; the one, propitiatory sacrifices, lest she might do more harm; the other, gratulatory, that she might continue her wonted favours[l]. The superstitious division of Fortune into good and bad was but a subdivision of the Persian or Manichees' misconception of one god, as author of good, of another, as the author of evil. These latter fooleries of the Romans are excellently refuted by St. Austin, in his fourth book *De Civitate Dei*, cap. 23. *Si cultorem suum decernit, ut prosit, Fortuna non est:* "If she can know her worshippers, or deservedly respect them, she is not Fortune, because not blind; if she cannot respect them, nor take notice of their service, it is in vain to worship her." Howsoever, the cost they were at in her service had been much better bestowed on that other female, Fœlicitas, who (if she had been a living goddess) had all good things man's heart could desire at her disposal. But, as the same Father acutely concludes, *Sic enim carere non potest infœlicitate, qui tanquam deam Fœlicitatem colit, et Deum datorem fœlicitatis relinquit; sicut carere non potest fame, qui panem pictum lingit, et ab homine, qui verum habet non petit*[m]. "He that adoreth the goddess Felicity, balking that God

[l] Cicero de Natura Deorum, lib. 1.

[m] Aug. de Civit. Dei, lib. 4. c. 23.

who is the donor of felicity, shall be as faithfully attended by misery, as he, whosoever he be, shall be by hunger which solaceth himself by licking or kissing painted bread, disdaining to beg or ask substantial bread of men that have it."

7. Howbeit, by this foolish service of Fortune, whether good or bad, the Romans shewed themselves more wise and more religious, than most such amongst us as would be esteemed prophets of state; as they want not wit, nor other means to do good to the house of God, so they would cease to sacrifice to their own brains, or disclaim all title to God's honour offered to them by their parasites. But as the heathen fathered unobservable or strange events upon new feigned gods, or lady Fortune, so the trencher-mates of our times resolve all good success of state into some great men's wit or valour, whom they admire or love to flatter for their own gain. Not the discovery of the powder-treason itself but hath been in our hearing ascribed to the oracle of intelligence, as if the plot had been known to some demigods of state before the plotters fell a digging. He should not much wrong this table-tattling crew, in word or thought, that thinks and speaks of them as of idolaters more detestable than the most superstitious heathen Romans; or if they come short of them in the proper nature of this particular sum, we are to take the abatement, not so much from any less measure of false religion, as from excess of atheism and irreligion. But from what school they take these lessons I know, and must hereafter have Machiavel, their master, in examination for his impudent animadversions and hypocritical corrupt glosses, quite contrary as well to the professed meaning of that very text he took upon him to expound, as to the unanimous tenent

of best Roman writers, even senators themselves, concerning the causes of their state's advancement.

8. But, questionless, such of the Romans as adored Felicity for a goddess, were not of those philosophers' mind which denied felicity to be the gift of God: for what could have nursed in them this desire to please her, save only hope that she could reward with happiness such as diligently sought her, and could prosper industrious and careful endeavours for private or 901
public weal, in which cases only they did solicit her furtherance? Such good successes as grew rather from mere hap than good husbandry were taken as favours of Mrs. Fortune, not graces of the great queen Felicity, or lady Virtue. The worshippers likewise of this inferior goddess did by their service acknowledge, that some divine power must give increase and maturity to such seeds of moral honesty as by nature had been planted or watered by civil education or good discipline; that the blessings of this supposed goddess were as necessary and beneficial to the labour or culture of the mind, as the blessings of Ceres or Segetia were to tillage or works of husbandry. Hence we may gather Cotta's mouth to have been a great deal too wide, when it uttered that unsavoury observation, which Tully, (as I conceive,) observing the decorum of the party's disposition, or the part which he was to act, brings him in rather belching than speaking; his tautologies are so abrupt and tedious; part of which are to this effect:—"No man did ever acknowledge God for the author or donor of virtue. And this stands with reason; for we are justly commended by others for virtues, and we ourselves rightly glory in our virtues; which could not be so, if virtue were the gift of God, not a quality of our providing. But for the increase of honour, or

revenues, for the attaining any good which might have missed us, for eschewing any evil which might have befallen us, we thank the gods, disclaiming our own praise or deservings[n]." Doubtless he had never asked the consent of his honest neighbours to this peremptory determination, which alike concerned them all, but used his own proud irreligious spirit as an allowed measure of others' thoughts. "Did any man ever thank the gods for making him a good man? For what then? For his riches, honour, or safety. Jupiter had his titles of greatness and goodness from these effects, not for making us just, and temperate, or wise men; nor did ever any man vow tithes to Hercules for being made wise by him[o]." From these unsavoury ejaculations of Cotta, and also from the Roman poet, who acknowledged himself to have been of Epicurus' brood, we may infer, that this sect amongst the ancient Romans did not absolutely deny the divine providence, but only as it respected the soul of man. A special providence over men's bodies and temporal estates they did with reverence acknowledge, herein much better than the libertines of our times, than careless pro-

[n] Atque hoc quidem omnes mortales, sic habent, externas commoditates, vineta, segetes, oliveta, ubertatem frugum et fructuum; omnem denique commoditatem, prosperitatemque vitæ, a diis se habere: virtutem autem nemo umquam acceptam Deo retulit. Nimirum recte: propter virtutem enim jure laudamur, et in virtute recte gloriamur: quod non contingeret, si id donum a Deo, non a nobis haberemus. At vero aut honoribus aucti, aut re familiari, aut si aliud quippiam nacti sumus fortuiti boni, aut depulimus mali, cum diis gratias agimus, tum nihil nostræ laudi assumtum arbitramur.—Cic. de Natura Deorum, lib. 3. [c. 36.]

[o] Num quis, quod bonus vir esset, gratias diis egit unquam? At quod dives, quod honoratus, quod incolumis. Jovemque optimum et maxumum ob eas res appellant, non quod nos justos, temperatos, sapientes efficiat, sed quod salvos, incolumes, opulentos, copiosos. Neque Herculi quisquam decumam vovit umquam, si sapiens factus esset.—Cic. ibid.

fessors of Christianity, or those heathen epicureans before mentioned[p] in Juvenal's time.

Sit mihi, quod nunc est, etiam minus; ut mihi vivam
Quod superest ævi, si quid superesse volunt dii:
Sit bona librorum et provisæ frugis in annum
Copia ne fluitem dubiæ spe pendulus horæ.
Hæc satis est orare Jovem. Qui donat et aufert,
Det vitam, det opes; æquum mî animum ipse parabo[q].

With what I have, or if't be less, unto myself to live
I am content: if longer life the gods shall please to give,
Of books I chiefly plenty wish; of other things, such store
As may my mind from floating thoughts to settled state restore.
Of Jove, who gives and takes away, all that I mean to crave 902
Is life and means: an upright mind I of myself can have.

9. Not to cloy the reader with multitude of instances without variety of observation; scarce was there a blessing or good gift, any manner of punishment or reward, which we Christians derive from God, whose form or abstract the Romans and Grecians did not conceit as god or goddess, according to the grammatical gender of the noun or word whereby the nature was signified. *Pavor* (dread) was a god; *Pœna* (punishment), a goddess; *Præmium* (reward), I know not whether a god or goddess, but to them a deified power. Though in no case we may legitimate this misconceit of these heathens, yet must we acknowledge it to be but one degree removed from that truth whereof it is the degenerate offspring: He that wills us to be *perfect, as our heavenly Father is perfect,* supposeth the ideal perfection, or exemplary form of all goodness required in us, to be originally, essentially, and supereminently in him. Of which truth this is the immediate consequence: That the exact definition of virtues (especially intellectual, or of any essential branch of goodness) is more proper

[p] Section 1. chap. 5. [q] Horat. Epist. I. xviii. 107.

to the divine pattern, or idea, than to the participated impression which it leaves in us. That definition which did either breed or abet some needless controversies amongst schoolmen and moralists (whether justice be a moral or intellectual virtue) was intended by Ulpian, the author of it, for a description of the heathen goddess Justice, as the learned Hottoman, with some other good lawyers avouched by Salmuth[r], to my remembrance, have rightly collected from the words annexed: *Justitia est perpetua et constans voluntas suum cuique tribuendi, cujus nos* (*Jurisconsulti*) *sacerdotes sumus:* "Justice is a perpetual and constant will of rendering to every man his due, whose priests we are that profess the law."

10. There is no attribute of God, as conceived by us, or, rather, no conceit we have of his attributes, but hath its distinct bounds or limits. We cannot say that his justice is formally his mercy, or that his love is altogether the same with his jealousy or indignation; nor are these terms, whilst applied to God by us, of synonymal signification. Every one hath a proper and several notion, capable of a distinct definition or notation. Now, if with some schoolmen or logicians, we should argue a multitude of really distinct natures, answerable to the number of definitions really distinct, or such a difference in the matter conceived as there is in our conceits of it, the argument would conclude as well in the divine attributes as in any other subject. And as the evident apprehension of real distinction between our express conceits of any matter is always apt to suggest a conceit of real diversity in the matter so conceived, so this diversity betwixt the divine attributes once admitted into the understanding (or the contrary not excluded) would

[r] In his preface to his Comments upon Vancirola.

cause us to hunt after a proper phantasm or representation of every attribute: and, lastly, internal representations of them, as really distinct, would be delivered of so many external images or idols answerable unto them. Justice would be apprehended as one goddess, Clemency another, Indignation as a third. Each should have a tribunal, or form of supplication, distinct from others, as the parties that had occasion to implore divine assistance were affected. Malefactors or dissolute livers would be delighted with the picture of Clemency, affrighted to look upon the visage of Justice. Such as suffer grievous wrongs, without all hope of being righted, or men naturally thirsty of revenge, would feed their phantasies with emblematical representations of Nemesis[s]:—

> Ἡ Νέμεσις προλέγω τῷ πήχεϊ, τῷ τε χαλίνῳ,
> Μήτ' ἀμετρόν τε ποιεῖν, μήτ' ἀχάλινα λέγειν[t]. 903

With bridle and square I act at large; my prologue, though, 's not long:
By unruly hand, by unbridled tongue, see no man man do wrong.

This Nemesis was in their opinion a goddess of justice, unto whose cognizance belonged not every unjust speech or action, but only such as were outrageous. For this reason was she pictured with a bridle in one hand and a square or ruler in the other, to teach moderation in speech or action.

11. In the observation of best Christian writers, the wiser sort of heathen did acknowledge but one supreme power or deity, the several branches of whose efficacy or operations while they sought to set forth in emblems[u], hieroglyphics, or poetical resemblances,

[s] Μαραθῶνος δὲ σταδίους μάλιστα ἑξήκοντα ἀπέχει Ῥαμνοῦς τὴν παρὰ θάλασσαν ἰούσιν ἐς Ὠρωπόν. Καὶ αἱ μὲν οἰκήσεις ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰσὶ, μικρὸν δὲ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω Νεμέσεώς ἐστιν ἱερὸν, ἣ θεῶν μάλιστα ἀνθρώποις ὑβρισταῖς ἐστὶν ἀπαραίτητος.—Pausanias, l. i. cap. 33.

[t] Giraldus Hist. Deorum, syntag. 17. pag. 447.

[u] In altero vero arcæ lat

these sluices late mentioned were opened to augment the former deluge of superstition and idolatry. And I know not whether in our forefathers' times theological virtues, as faith and charity, came to be worshipped as saints from such emblematical devices or representations as are yet to be seen in the picture of St. Sunday[x], which, without the sexton's commentaries that shewed it me, or sight of tradesmen's tools that had wronged this saint, or rather violated the sabbath, I should have taken for a character of the Jewish synagogue in Isaiah's days; so miserably was this saint wounded from head to foot. These two occasions of heathenish error, in multiplying gods, are, to my seeming at least since I made this observation, briefly touched by Tully[y]; unto whom I refer the Latin reader: *Multæ autem aliæ naturæ deorum, ex magnis beneficiis eorum, non sine causa, et a Græciæ sapientissimis et a majoribus nostris, constitutæ nominatæque sunt. Quicquid enim magnam utilitatem generi afferret humano, id non sine divina bonitate erga homines fieri arbitrabantur. Itaque tum illud, quod erat a deo natum, nomine ipsius dei nuncupabant: ut cum fruges Cererem appel-*

quod est a læva, ordinem operis in orbem oculis persequenti fœmina expressa est puerum consopitum dextra album sustinens; nigrum sinistra, et hunc dormientis effigie, distortis utrinque pedibus. Indicant inscriptiones, quod facile tamen, ut nihil scriptum sit, conjicere possis, eorum puerorum unum mortem esse, alterum somnum, mulierem illam noctem, utriusque nutricem. At formosa illa mulier, quæ fœda facie alteram, sinistra obstricto collo trahit, dextera fuste cœdit, Justitiam significat, quæ Injuriam male mulctat. Paus. l. 5. p. 321.

[x] In the parish church of East-Wickham in Buckinghamshire. The picture seems to represent our Saviour Christ; and the importance of the emblem in charitable construction may be this, that he hath received more wounds by profane sabbathbreakers than he did by the Jews.

[y] Lib. 2. de Natura Deorum, [c. 23.]

lamus, vinum vero Liberum; ex quo illud Terentii, Sine Cerere et Libero friget Venus: tum autem res ipsa, in qua vis inest major aliqua, sic appellatur, ut ea ipsa res nominetur deus, ut fides, ut mens, quas in capitolio dedicatas videmus proxime a M. Æmilio Scauro; ante autem ab Attilio Calatino erat fides consecrata. Vides virtutis templum, vides honoris a M. Marcello renovatum, quod, multis ante annis, erat bello Ligustico a Qu. Maximo dedicatum. Quid opis? quid salutis? quid concordiæ? Libertatis? Victoriæ? quarum omnium rerum quia vis erat tanta, ut sine deo regi non posset, ipsa res deorum nomen obtinuit. Quo ex genere Cupidinis, et Voluptatis, et Lubentinæ Veneris, vocabula consecrata sunt, vitiosarum rerum, neque naturalium, quamquam Velleius aliter existumat; sed tamen ea ipsa vitia naturam vehementius sæpe pulsant. Utilitatum igitur magnitudine constituti sunt ei dii, qui utilitates quasque gignebant. Atque his quidem nominibus quæ paulo ante dicta sunt a me, quæ vis sit, in quoque declaratur deo. This author[z] elsewhere thought the ancient philosophers, which held *omnia esse unum,* had soared much higher than the pigmy-wits of his time could reach, and multiplicity of rules concerning one and the same subject doth always argue imbecility of understanding either natural or for want of art. On the contrary, such as 904
by profundity or strength of wit are able to dive into the depth of sciences always reduce multiplicity to paucity, and draw most particular conclusions from one or few common principles. Some maxims there be, which in every science hold the same, into which all truths must finally be resolved, without whose breach or violation nothing can justly be impeached of falsehood. With greater facility and perspicuity

[z] Libro 3. de Oratore in Initio.

may the causes of all visible or known effects be resolved into one cause of causes, or into that unity whence all multiplicity floweth. But of this hereafter.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Original of Superstition, properly so called, and the Preservatives prescribed by God himself against this Branch of Idolatry.

1. As contrarieties in opinions ofttimes agree too well in falsehood, so one and the same falsehood may sometimes spring from contrary causes. The same idolatrous error of the heathens, which principally descended from too nice abstractions, or conceiving of that unity (or incomprehensible essence) as many, whose attributes they could not apprehend but under more conceits, was much increased by confounding the abstract with the concrete, or by conceiving of those things as one which indeed were many. Were wool or paper, of all the subjects or bodies which we had seen, only white, every white thing which we see afar off would be taken for wool or paper. Our answer to this question, *Quid est albedo?* "What is whiteness?" would perhaps be no better than Hippias[a] made to the like, *Quid est pulchritudo?* "What is beauty?" *Mulier formosa, aut equus pulcher*, "A fair woman, or a comely horse." No sensible, as was observed before[b], is ever represented without a train of circumstances or concomitants. Of all circumstances, time and place are necessary adherents to every passenger that approacheth the gates of sense. And were not one and the same sensible often manifested at sundry places at diverse times, or with other different circumstances; or contrariwise, did not diverse effects oftentimes appear in one and

[a] Plato in his Hippias. [b] Chap. 15.

the same time and place, or accompanied after one and the same fashion, we should hardly so far distinguish them, as that the presence of the one should not represent the other, or the remembrance of the one not suggest a several notice of the other. The coexistence of the one would always be taken as a cause of whatsoever event had before accompanied both. In events which have no permanent existence, nor observe any certain course, to sever or abstract each circumstance from other, is a matter not so easy to be effected by such as intend it, as to be altogether forgotten, or not intended. The want notwithstanding of such abstraction, or winnowing of circumstances, is the essential root of superstition, whose nature cannot be more fully notified, than by a misdeeming of such circumstances or adjuncts as accompany extraordinary or unusual events befalling us, either for the true causes or procurers of them, or for practical associates or coworkers fit to share with them in our love or hate. For this reason is gross superstition most incident to minds either great in themselves, or puffed up with externals, but withal illiterate and rude: thus Clowis[c], king of the then heathen Franks, attributed the death of his first-born unto the Christian religion, which his queen professed, or unto Christ, in whose name the infant had been baptized, 905 *Quia puer in Dei vestri baptizatus est nomine, dii nostri illum præsenti luce fraudaverunt:* "Because the poor child was baptized in the name of your God, therefore have our gods bereft him of his life." And albeit the admirable patience and cheerful thanksgiving of his queen unto her God, for taking her child into a better kingdom, might have been an undoubted testimony of greater comfort in calamity, than Clowis

[c] Annonius, lib. 1. cap. 15.

his wonted religion could afford him; yet he gives his second son for dead, upon his first attachment by sickness, only because baptized as the former had been in Christ's name; *Et hic propter superstitionem vestram incurrit offensam:* "This child also through your superstition hath incurred the displeasure of our gods." As if he had heard old Jacob, from remembrance of Joseph's miscarriage, bitterly complaining of Benjamin's loss; *I shall be robbed of my child as I have been*[d]. But this child's recovery of his bodily health did so far rectify the king his father's mind, as to take Christian baptism for no necessary sign or forerunner of death to French children. It did not, though, enlighten him to see the grossness of wonted heathenish, or his national superstition, still apprehended by him as a true cause, because a perpetual concomitant, of his former good success in battle. But when he saw this begin to fail him in time of need, and victory so far gone unto the Almanes his enemies as there was small hope his gods could call her back; out of the memory of his believing consort's reverend mention of Christ, and declaration of his goodness, he burst out into this prayer; "O thou most powerful God Christ, whom my wife Crotilda worshippeth with a pure heart, behold I vow the trophies of my faith unto thee, so thou wilt give me victory over these mine enemies. This being said, (saith mine author,) fear came upon the Almanes, the French were conquerors, the Almanes conquered, and made tributaries[e]." This

[d] Gen. xliii. 14.

[e] Christe, potentissime Deus, quem Crotildes conjux mea colit pura mente, trophæa meæ tibi voveo fidei, tribuas si his ab hostibus triumphum victoriæ. His peractis (saith mine author) Alemannos invasit timor, victores Franci, victi, et tributarii facti Alemanni. Annonius, lib. 1. cap. 15.

present help from God, at the very point of peril and extreme danger, was a sure document, that sincere profession of Christian religion was no bare adjunct or concomitant, but an authorized messenger of health, of peace, and victory.

2. The like superstition did more desperately possess Maximinus, the chief matter of whose accustomed glory was, that his reign had neither been pestered with famine, war, or pestilence; the especial cause of freedom from which annoyances was by him imputed to his careful worship of other gods, and zealous impugning of Christians: as if the temporaneal coexistence of these two effects had sufficiently argued the one's causal dependence upon the other. But God shortly after falsifies these foolish collections by fulfilling our Saviour's prophecy—*Cum dicunt pax et tuta omnia, tunc repentinum eis imminet exitium;* "Whilst they proclaim peace and security, sudden destruction comes upon them"—very remarkably in this boaster. For all these three pursuivants of God's wrath came upon him and his people, like Job's messengers, each treading on other's heels for haste. Eusebius, lib. 9. cap. 7.

3. More grossly did some late Mahometan Moors[f]

[f] Cum paternæ cladis caussas superstitiosi Mauri assignarent, quod rex captivus a Christianis vinum fessam comportari passus esset, et leones aleret, ille reipub. emendationem præ se ferens, protinus quicquid erat vini in cellis per urbem effundi, et leonis sagittis configi jussit.—Thuanus, lib. 7. anno 1550. Terram non ferro, sed ligno proscindunt; quod eo magis mirandum, cum terra eorum tenax, et non arenosa sit, quaque pinus nunquam crescit. Araturi ligna complura, quibus terram subigunt, locoque vomeris utuntur, secum portare solent: scilicet, ut uno fracto, aliud, atque aliud, ne quid in mora sit in promptu habeant. Quidam ex provinciæ præfectis, quo provinciales graviore labore levaret, multos ferreos vomeres adferri fecerat. Cum autem eo, sequentibusque aliquot annis segetes aliqua cœli intemperie, expectationi agricolarum non responderent, vulgusque agrorum suorum sterilitatem ferreo vo-

ascribe their public calamities unto their lately de-
906 ceased king's bringing in of lions, and sufferance of wine to be brought in by Christians; and, whether in hope of successful reformation intended by him, or to satisfy his ignorant people's expectation of it, the lions were killed by his newly elected successor's appointment, and the wine brought in by Christians poured out in their open streets. This superstitious jealousy of these barbarous Africans, though in these later times more gross than credible, may be exactly paralleled by the like disposition of modern Russians. It shall suffice to quote the author; the matter related by him hath such semblance with the former, that the addition of discourse would rather obscure than add lustre to their mutual representations.

4. All are alike apt to search, though all not alike able to find the true, or discover the colourable causes of every effect which much concerns them. And as land, for want of direct heirs, falls oft to collaterals of the same progeny; so time and place, because of kin unto every effect, are, by the ignorant or misaffected, reputed lords, or disposers of success, good or bad, to which no cause apparent makes evident claim. A lively character of this disposition, thus apt to take the impression of error, we have in that poetical description of Æacus and his people, which wrongfully indited their beds and houses of the disasters which befell them:

> ————*Fagiuutque penates*
> *Quisque suos: sua cuique domus funesta videtur.*
> *Et quia causa latet, locus est in crimine*[g].

meri adscriberet, nec aliud quicquam in causa esse putaret, præfectus veritus seditionem, amoto ferro, suo eos more agros colere permisit.—Vide Sigismundum Baronem de Rebus Moscoviticis, p. 113. ed. Basil. 1556.

[g] Ovid. Met. lib. 7. fabula 26. [575.]

The houses deem'd to breed their bane,
the owners quite disclaim;
And since the cause they do not know,
the known place bears the blame.

And in that other of Cadmus:

———*Serieque malorum*
Victus, et ostentis, quæ plurima viderat, exit
Conditor urbe sua; tanquam fortuna locorum,
Non sua se premeret[h].

Affright with many a direful sight,
the founder leaves the town;
As if th' ill luck which hunted him
had been its, not his own.

It was a blast of the same superstitious doctrine, or blind persuasion, which impelled the Philistines to carry the ark from place to place. 1 Sam v. 7. usque ad cap. vi. 8.

5. The confidence of a good cause would scarce so much have animated the princes of Germany, as the very name of the places[i] wherein some of their rank have been foiled would have deterred them from adventuring battle upon terms otherwise equal; and the Scottish nation, unless our writers have wronged them, would sometimes have fought with the English upon any festival day in the year sooner than upon Magdalene day, as fearing lest the ill hap which it brought them had not been expiated with the reiterated penitential sacrifices of many widows' tears. Howbeit, I may not condemn all wariness, or serious 907

[h] Idem, lib. 4. fab. [16. 564.]

[i] Hic exitus pugnæ ad Mulbergam commissæ fuit; cujus loci nomen viris principibus male ominosum semper fuisse a curiosis rerum Germanicarum observatum est. Si quidem ad Mulbergam in Baioaria Ludovicus IV. imperator Fridericum ducem Austriæ et Henricum fratrem anno S. CIↃCCC XXIII; Rupertus item imperator, centesimo circiter anno post, Bernardum Badensem marchionem ad Mulbergam supra Nemetes, cepit.—Jac. Aug. Thuan. Histor. lib. 4. §. xi.

observation of ominous significations, which time or place, with their circumstances, may afford. There is a mean, though not easy to find, and harder to hold, between superstitious fear and presumptuous boldness in this kind. That natural inclination, which in many degenerates into impious devotion, requires as well a skilful moderator as a boisterous corrector. But this is an argument wherein I had rather be taught than teach, though somewhat hereafter[k] must be said for mine own or others' information. Of much heathenish superstition in this kind the monasteries of our land have been fertile nurseries; as the Grecian clergy is this day tainted with curiosities of this rank, as unjustifiable as the scrupulosities of many old women to begin any work of their vocation upon the same day of the week on which the feast of Innocents, or Childermas, (as they term it,) did fall the year before.

6. But neither can ancient story, poetical description, or known experience of any modern disposition, so well set out the manner how these natural seeds of superstition are set on working by intemperate desires or jealous fears, as doth that sacred relation of Balak and Balaam's conspiracy to curse the Israelites. Whatsoever Balaam thought of this business, Balak, out of his inbred superstition, was persuaded that the very place or prospect had been a cause concurrent to produce the effect for which he supplicated unto his god: *Balak took Balaam, and brought him up into the high places of Baal, that thence he might see the utmost part of the people*[l]. But Balak feared (as by the words following it seems) that Balaam saw too many at once, that this place was too high, a fitter level for a blessing than for a curse: *And Balak*

[k] In the treatise of Prodigies, or the third section of Divine Providence. [l] Num. xxii. 41.

said unto Balaam, What hast thou done unto me? I took thee to curse mine enemies, and, behold, thou hast blessed them altogether. And he answered and said, Must I not take heed to speak that which the Lord hath put in my mouth? Yet this protestation persuades Balak only to alter his station, not his mind: *And Balak said unto him, Come, I pray thee, with me unto another place, from whence thou mayest see them: thou shalt see but the utmost part of them, and shalt not see them all: and curse me them from thence. And he brought him unto Sede-sophim,* (a place by the very name apt to enchant a superstitious mind with expectation of success,) *to the top of Pisgah, and built seven altars, and offered a bullock and a ram on every altar*[m]. As before trial made he hoped the change of place would have altered his luck, so after return of the like answer he suspects the prophet's words as causes of his mishap, and would hire him to be silent: *And Balak said unto Balaam, Neither curse them at all, nor bless them at all. But Balaam answered and said unto Balak, Told not I thee, saying, All that the Lord speaketh, that I must do*[n]? So strong is the conflict between the engraffed notion of God's power to bless or curse whom he pleased, and the unrighteousness wherein it is detained, that, after a sentence passed against him, he will yet remove his suit to another court: *Again Balak said unto Balaam, Come, I pray thee, I will bring thee unto another place; if so it may please God that thou mayest thence curse them for my sake*[o]. And lastly, perceiving his triple attempt to curse had procured a trinity of blessings, (perhaps a blessing from the Trinity given by each Person in course,) the last more effectual than the former, he abandons the

[m] Num. xxiii. 11—14. [n] Ver. 25, 26. [o] Ver. 27.

prophet's company as an unlucky guest. Of Israel saith Balaam, *He coucheth, and lieth down as a young lion, and as a lion: who shall stir him up? Blessed is he that blesseth thee, and cursed is he that curseth thee. Then Balak was very angry with*
908 *Balaam, and smote his hands together: so Balak said unto Balaam, I sent for thee to curse mine enemies, and, behold, thou hast blessed them now three times. Therefore now flee thou to thy place*[p]. Had God, upon some extraordinary provocation of this people's unexpiated sins, permitted the hireling prophet's curse to have hit them, the place whence it was directed should have been either joint sharer with old Baal in sacrifices and other divine honours, or else have brought forth some other like new god. Or if the second arrow had sped, Baal Pisgah or Sedesophim had been more famous amongst the Moabites and their affrighted neighbours than Baalzebub, or Baal-peor, until the memory of this success had been eclipsed by events more glorious elsewhere manifested.

7. The multiplicity of topic gods amongst the heathen could hardly have been hatched without a conjunction of the afore-observed imbecility of man's understanding, or confused apprehensions of time and place, as cogenitors of effects begotten in them, and of such affections or dispositions as the Holy Ghost deciphers in Balaam. The invisible Power, which filleth every place with his presence, comprehended by none, was confined within the circumference of that peculiar room, wherein it had been sensibly manifested. From his dominion over the fields, testified sometimes by abundance, sometimes by scarcity rare and unusual, they imagined a god of the field distinct from gods of the woods or waters. From declaration of his power,

[p] Num. xxiv. 9—11.

or secret touches of his presence in their houses or bodies, (whether by participation of his goodness, or permission of evil angels to torment them,) *dii tutelares, penates,* or *lares,* "gods, protectors of their houses or families, or guardians of their persons," had their original. And seeing there was no corner of the world wherein the invisible and hidden power of God was not sometimes remarkably manifested in his effects, the former gap once opened, there could be no restraint of this superstitious vanity. Idolatry from this one root might spread as broad as the world was wide. The visible and known elements, having one common matter for their mother, each symbolizing with other in some homogeneal quality, were allotted to three brother gods; the earth, to Pluto; the water, to Neptune; the air, to Jupiter, from whose tribunal lightnings were sent out, as proclamations, to affright these inferior rebellious regions, and thunderbolts as arrows of vengeance, or executioners of his denounced wrath. The several quarters of every regiment (of the earth especially) were assigned to deputy gods, or presidents, yet so, as variety of time had sometime joint suffrage with distinction of place for erecting these lesser gods, which were as tenants or cottagers to the three great lords, or supposed heirs of this visible sphere. Night-lightnings, by the ancient Romans, were entertained as messengers of Summanus; such only as came by day were accounted as sent by Jupiter.

8. These experiments, which are as so many probates of the philosophical rules premised, should hardly merit so much credit with me, unless the Holy Ghost, in registering the idolatrous errors of some heathens, had warranted as well the truth of the instances, as the causes assigned by us of the error. The Aramites had felt the power of Israel's God in the mountains to

their smart, and yet are confident to find succour from other gods as powerful to plague the Israelites in the plain. *And the servants of the king of Syria said unto him, Their gods are gods of the hills; therefore they were stronger than we; but let us fight against them in the plain, and surely we shall be stronger than they. And do these things, Take the kings away, every man out of their place, and put captains in their rooms: and number thee an army, like the army that thou hast lost, horse for horse, and chariot for chariot: and we will fight against them in the plain, and surely we shall be stronger than they. And he hearkened unto their voice, and did so*[q]. The Romans' superstitious confidence in the vanquished Trojan gods was haply nursed by the same ignorance, a spice whereof we may observe in rustic unthrifty gamesters, which hope to avoid ill luck by changing place. That querulous complaint which the Israelites vented in the wilderness had been settled upon the lees of Aram's and Moab's idolatry. These heathens were not so credulous of success against evident signs of God's displeasure, as the Israelites, after experience of his miraculous refections in their thirst, were incredulous of his power to provide meat in their hunger. *Can God* (said they) *furnish a table in the wilderness? Behold, he smote the rock, that the waters gushed out, and the streams overflowed; can he give bread also? can he provide flesh for his people*[r]? It was but an easy step in heathenish times to translate the divine powers *a loco ad locatum*, from the place wherein the effects wrought by them were encompassed, to such inanimate creatures as were their instruments in producing them. So Augustus lying weather-bound, and suspecting lest his suit to Jupiter

[q] 1 Kings xx. 23, 24, 25. [r] Psalm lxxviii. 15—20.

his brother, the supreme lord of the air, might find as unspeedy admission or dispatch as poor men's petitions did with such great kings as Augustus was, forthwith sacrificed to the wind, that lay fittest for bringing him to the haven of his desires. *They that go down into the deep* (saith the Psalmist) *see the wonders of the Lord.* The like documents of God's immediate hand in raising and assuaging storms by sea, as inspired this sacred breast with prophetical hymns of his praises, enticed the Romans to sacrifice to the floods or waves for the safety of their navies; *Nostri duces mare ingredientes immolare hostiam fluctibus consueverunt*[s]; "Our generals when they go to sea use to offer sacrifices unto the floods." And upon special deliverance from a dangerous storm, they invested the latent power of the unknown God with the known name of the much feared effect, prevented, as they supposed, by their idolatrous devotions:

Te quoque tempestas meritam delubra fatentur,
Cum pene est Corsis obruta puppis aquis.

When ships on raging Corsic seas
by storms were well nigh lost,
To garnish lady Tempest's shrine
our fathers spared not cost.

Their folly was less in seeking to appease the tempest which stirred the waves, than in supplicating to the waves, which could not cease so long as the tempest lasted.

9. These foolish practices of such as the world accounted her wisest sons, though they cannot justify the like foolery in illiterate or meaner persons, yet may they justify the learned critic's correction of the poor fisherman's speech in Athenæus[t], albeit, by

[s] Cic. lib. 3. de Natura Deorum, [c. 20.]

[t] Antique sic: Ἐπιθυμήσας τῷ Βορεᾷ ἴδιον ὀψάριον οὐδὲ ἓν ἔλαβον ἑψήσων φακῆν. Vide Casaub. in cap. 8. lib. 9. Athenæi.

amending his words, he hath made his meaning a great deal worse than it was formerly conceived to be; for he brings him in sacrificing to the north wind, as the most of his profession in ancient times usually did. Alexander's[u] sacrificing in the midst of Hellespont unto Neptune and the sea-nymphs was no less idolatrous, but neither so properly nor grossly superstitious.
910 Howbeit, even the most gross and superstitious mistakings of these heathens last mentioned, differ rather in subject and matter, than in form, from an error common and usual, and in a manner the fatal consequent of a necessary practice in modern schools, to wit, of denominating or notifying things indistinctly apprehended by their references or vicinity unto certain and known circumstances. Thus, because we know not the determinate distance of the moon from the centre, or supreme sphere, we define the place of it (as of every other body) by the convex surface of the sphere which environs it. And by this concretion, or confusion of the external reference or notification with the thing we seek to notify, the highest orb, or supreme sphere, hath in the conceit of many lost all right to any distinct proper place, because it is destitute of a surface or superior covering: so again, by notifying the differences or set parts of time by the numerable and known parts of motion which accompany it, the proper and essential notion of time is utterly drowned in our conceit of motion. And as we imagine those bodies which are not contained under some other to be in no place, so we misconceive there should be no

[u] Alexandrum ex Eleunte in Achæorum portum navigasse plures scribunt, navisque prætoriæ gubernatorem fuisse: quumque jam in mediis Hellesponti fluctibus versaretur, taurum Neptuno ac Nereidibus mactasse, aureaque phiala in mare profusa libasse.—Arrianus de Expedit. Alexandri, lib. 1.

time, unless it were ensheathed in motion. Whereas the philosopher[x] did not intend that the definitions either of time or place by him assigned should be essential, but, as all physical definitions, (by his precepts are, and ought to be,) causal or connotative, such as is that, *Ira est ebullities sanguinis circa cor*, "Anger is the boiling of the blood about the heart."

10. This proneness of man's imagination to be misled by circumstance of time or place, by other adjuncts or instruments of his manifested power, the Lord foresaw in his chosen people, and sought in solicitous manner to inhibit by his law and prophets. To this purpose is the unity of his infinite and incomprehensible Majesty, so often and usually emblazoned by variety of glorious attributes framed from the multiplicity of subjects, or variety of effects, wherein the efficacy of his power, justice, or goodness are or have been most remarkably manifested. Men by this means (so they would by any) might be occasioned to abstract and purify their conceits of him from those concrete and unpurified apprehensions, wherein the heathen did either bury or imprison such notions as either nature had engraffed in them or traditions communicated unto them. From discovery of his powerful hand in managing wars he is enstyled *the Lord of hosts*, or *the Lord strong and mighty in battle:* and yet withal *a God of peace*, and *one that maketh wars to cease; a God of wisdom, and a God of glory*, and yet, *a God that hath compassion on the poor, and despiseth not the weak and silly ones.* And, as if he had feared lest Israel, upon such occasions as seduced the Romans, might misdeliver devotions, confusedly intended to him, unto stormy waves or tempests, or with the

[x] Arist. 2. Physic.

Aramites confine his power to valleys or mountains, or with others make him a God of the sea only, not of the land, he hath sounded a counterblast to those impulsions, wherewith the heathens were driven headlong into idolatry, in that excellent song of jubilee: *The Lord is a great God, and a great King above all gods. In his hand are the deep places of the earth: the strength of the hills is his also. The sea is his, and he made it: and his hands formed the dry land. O come, let us worship and fall down: let us kneel before the Lord our maker. For he is our God; and we are the people of his pasture, and the sheep of his hand*[y]. It was his pleasure to try them *with penury of water*[z] after he had tried them *with scarcity of bread*[a], that by his miraculous satisfaction of their intemperate desires of both, as also of *their*
911 *lusting after flesh*, he might bring them to acknowledge him for a God, as powerful over the fowls of the air as over the fish in the sea, as able to draw water out of the hard rock as to rain bread from heaven. And having indoctrinated them by their experience of his power in these and like particulars, he commends this general precept or moral induction to their serious consideration: *Hath God assayed to go and take him a nation from the midst of another nation, by temptations, by signs, and by wonders, and by war, and by a mighty hand, and by a stretched out arm, and by great terrors, according to all that the Lord your God did for you in Egypt before your eyes? Out of heaven he made thee to hear his voice, that he might instruct thee: and upon earth he shewed thee his great fire; and thou heardest his words out of the midst of the fire. Know therefore this day, and con-*

[y] Psalm xcv. 3—7. [z] Exod. xvii. 2, 3, &c. [a] Exod. xvi. 3, 4, &c.

sider it in thine heart, that the Lord he is God in heaven above, and upon the earth beneath: there is none else[b]. And lastly, that no senseless or living creature, through the faulty ignorance of man, might unawares purloin any part of his honour, the Psalmist hath invited all to bear consort with his people in that song of praise and acknowledgment of his power: *Praise ye the Lord from the heavens: praise him in the heights. Praise ye him, all his angels: praise ye him, all his hosts. Praise ye him, sun and moon: praise him, all ye stars of light. Praise him, ye heavens of heavens, and ye waters that be above the heavens. Let them praise the name of the Lord: for he commanded, and they were created. He hath also stablished them for ever and ever: he hath made a decree which shall not pass. Praise the Lord from the earth, ye dragons, and all deeps,* &c. *Let them praise the name of the Lord: for his name alone is excellent; his glory is above the earth and heaven*[c].

CHAP. XIX.

Of divers Errors in Philosophy, which in Practice proved Seminaries of Idolatry and Sorcery.

1. THE best apology which the greatest heathen clerks could make for themselves (for the grosser fopperies of the vulgar they would not undertake to defend) was borrowed from a plausible philosophical opinion, thus expressed by the poet[d]:

His quidam signis, atque hæc exempla secuti,
Esse apibus partem divinæ mentis, et haustus
Ætherios dixere: deum namque ire per omnes
Terrasque, tractusque maris, cœlumque profundum.
Hinc pecudes, armenta, viros, genus omne ferarum,

[b] Deut. iv. 34, 36, 39. [c] Psalm cxlviii. 1—7. 13. [d] Virg. Georg. 4. [l. 219.]

Quemque sibi tenues nascentem arcessere vitas.
[e]*Scilicet huc reddi deinde ac resoluta referri*
Omnia : nec morti esse locum, sed viva volare
Sideris in numerum, atque alto succedere cœlo.

Some, by these signs and these examples thereto drawn, have taught
The souls of bees to be divine, of heavenly spirits a draught ;
For God, say they, as find they may who nature's work peruse,
Through earth, through seas, through heavens profound, live goodness doth diffuse.
912 From his live presence, cattle, men, birds, suck the spirit of life,
From him all springs, in him all ends. Though death be ne'er so rife,
Yet nothing dies : what earth forsakes, finds place in starry sky ;
What we think into nothing flits, above the heavens doth fly.

This opinion was worse construed by some than either the author or commentator meant; many, the most ancient especially, agree in this, that *Deus* was *anima mundi*, that the world was animated by God, as our bodies are by our souls. Whence they concluded, as some later Romanists do, that all or most visible bodies might be religiously worshipped or adored, with reference to God's residence in them. The antecedent notwithstanding being granted, the practices which they hence sought to justify are excellently refuted by St. Austin[f], who hath drawn them withal a fair and straight line to that mark whereat they roved at random or blind guess by ways successively infinite. For answering any objection the heathen divines could make against us, or refuting any apology made for

[e] Hence perhaps did that paradox, maintained by some philosophers, take its beginning; *Deus est materia prima.* The proposition in itself considered may be salved from heresy with a distinction of *formaliter* and *eminenter*. But the same proposition simply converted, *Materia prima est Deus*, includeth heresy, if not idolatry. The truth is, *Deus est materia prima eminenter non formaliter: Materia prima non est Deus aut eminenter aut formaliter.*

[f] Lib. 4. de Civ. Dei, cap. 11, 12.

themselves, I always refer the reader to this good Father's learned labours, of excellent use in his time. But my purpose is not to make men believe these heresies are yet alive, by hot skirmishing with them; the lines of my method rather lead me to unrip their original so far only, as, not discovered, they might breed danger to our times. Now in very truth, the opinion pretended by them to colour the filth of their religion did minister plenty of fuel and nutriment (as learned Mirandula [g] hath observed) to those monsters, whose limbs and members had been framed from the seeds of errors hitherto mentioned; and the illiterate, in all probability, took much infection at eyes and ears from poetical descriptions or emblematical representations of God's immensity; such as Orpheus (if we may believe Clemens Alexandrinus) did take out of the prophet Isaiah [h].

Ipse autem in magno constans, et firmus Olympo est,
Aureus huic thronus est, pedibus subjectaque terra,
Oceani ad fines illi protenditur ingens
Dextera, montanas atque intus concutit illi
Ira bases, motus nec possunt ferre valentes.
Ipse est in cœlis, terram complectitur omnem,
Oceani ad sinus expansa est, et manus illi
Undique dextera———

Not held by them, he heavens doth firmly hold;
Whole earth's but footstool to his throne of gold:
In 's mighty palm the ocean vast doth roll,
The roots of mountains shake at his control;
O'er heavens, through earth, his right hand doth extend,
It all inclasps, all it not comprehend.

g Recolligamus quæ diximus, videbimusque in primo nos gradu discere Deum non esse corpus, ut Epicurei; neque formam corporis, ut illi volunt, qui Deum asserunt animam esse cœli vel universi, quod et Ægyptii, ut scribit Plutarchus, existimarunt, et Varro theologus Romanus, unde utrisque magnum fomentum idololatriæ, ut alibi declarabimus.—Mirandula de Ente et Uno, pag. 249.

h Isaiah lxvi. Vide Clem. Alexand. lib. 5. Strom.

2. Jupiter, (though acknowledged by many to be the only God,) from the former opinion, became answerable to as many names as the world had principal parts, and upon diversity of relations to effects or motions, presumed to issue from his amiable or live presence, subdivided into both sexes, termed Neptune[i] in the sea, Liber in the vineyard, Vulcan in the smith's forge, and Vagitanus in the infant's mouth; in the air, Juno; in the earth, Tellus; Venilia in the sea-wave whilst current to the land, Salatia in the same wave reciprocating. The mere variety of names, or alteration of the sex or gender, would naturally suggest a multiplicity of gods and goddesses unto the ignorant; so
913 would the diverse forms or shapes of those bodies, whereof they imagined him to be the soul and spirit, unto the learned; specially seeing the motions or operations of the elements, or other inferior bodies, have no such vital dependance upon any one or few principal parts of the world, as in man all other members with their functions have on the heart, the head, and liver, or perhaps all originally on the heart. And yet the evident prerogative of these three parts hath persuaded great philosophers to allot three several souls really and locally distinct, to each principal part one. From which opinion it would with probability follow, that in one man there should be three living creatures, a plant, a sensitive, and a rational substance. And Varro, the most learned amongst the Romans, grants that the ancient Romans did worship mother Tellus, Ops, Proserpina, and Vesta, for distinct goddesses. Though these titles in his refined theology rather imported so many several virtues of the earth, whose soul or spirit was but one; and not absurdly (as he thought)

[i] Vide Aug. de Civit. Dei, lib. 4. cap. 11.

might other goddesses be reduced to this old grandam Tellus. But St. Austin demands how this can stand with the doctrine of his ancestors, which had ordained several rites to all these, as unto goddesses in nature different, and consecrated peculiar votaries unto Vesta; "It is not all one for one goddess to have many names, and to be many goddesses; or shall multiplicity and unity be avouched of one and the same?" "It may be," saith Varro, "that in one, many may be contained;" but this avoids not the intended check. St. Austin[j] replies; "That as in one and the same man there may be many entities, not many men; so in one and the same goddess there might be several virtues, not several goddesses." Varro's attempt to justify his forefathers' folly, and reconcile their gross ignorance with his learned errors, evidently bewrays whose successors the Jesuits, or other quaint modern refiners of school paganisms are, which hope to salve the contradictions of their doting forefathers and erring counsels, and patch up the unity of their broken and divided church by school glue, or philosophical quirks.

3. But concerning the animation of the world, and its several parts, the opinions of philosophers varied, and their variation caused variety of idolatry: every body had a peculiar spirit or genius besides Jupiter, to whom the moderation of all was assigned: whence we may without breach of charity suppose the worshipping of dumb and senseless creatures to have been a practice, though wicked in all, yet not altogether so brutish and senseless in some heathen as it is often generally censured without distinction. For even the elements or inanimate creatures, which they adored,

j Lib. 7. de Civ. Dei, c. 24.

had, in the opinion of some philosophers, their proper spirits, though not to inform them, as our souls do our bodies, yet to assist or guard them; each of which spirits was held divine, and endued with some peculiar power or virtue for producing or averting certain effects proportionable to the bodies. [k] Authors, for skill as well practick as speculative, not easy to be deceived, and for their gravity and moral honesty exempt from all suspicion of purposed deluding others, have related strange apparitions about mines. The like might seduce some heathen to adore gold and silver, not as metals, but rather as visible pledges of an invisible mammon's presence, conceived by them as a spirit, or guardian of treasure, by whose favour (solicited in peculiar rites or services) wealth might either be gotten or increased. The like conceit, no question, moved the [l] Indians to present a casket of gold and jewels, with such a solemn mask or superstitious dance as they held most acceptable to their
914 country-gods, in hope gold, the Spanish god, as they deemed it, being pleased with their devotions would appease the Spaniards' cruelty. Why those semi-Christians should so hunger and thirst after gold and metals, which could neither allay their hunger nor quench their thirst, could not enter into these silly caitiffs' hearts; unless it were to sacrifice it unto some mammon, or spirit of gold.

4. Julian the Apostate, albeit he spared no cost to make Jupiter his friend, whom he adored as king of gods, and chief moderator of the world, yet thought it no point of thrift or wisdom to neglect the elemental spirits: because these, in the heathenish divinity which he followed, were powers truly divine, able to qualify

[k] Vide Georg. Agricol. de animalibus subterraneis, &c.

[l] See the bishop of Casa, in his Indian Relations.

their worshippers with the spirit of divination. Neither was this opinion of their deity in the censure of those times or sects any paradox, nor the offering of placatory sacrifices any unlawful or superfluous practice. Otherwise Ammianus his plea to acquit his master from suspicion of sorcery or magical exorcisms, had been as ridiculous in the sight of heathens, as it was impious in the judgment of Christians; "Because this prince, a professed lover of all sciences, is by some maligned to have gained the foreknowledge of things future by naughty arts, we are briefly to advertise by what means a wise man (as this prince was) may attain unto this kind of learning or skill, more than vulgar. The spirit of all the elements," saith this author, "being enquickened by the uncessant motion of the celestial bodies, participates with us the gift or faculty of divination: and the favour of the substantial powers (or immortal substances) being purchased by respective ritual observance, the prediction of Fates or destiny is conveyed unto mortality from them, as from so many perpetual springs or fountains. Over these substantial powers the goddess Themis sits as president, so called by the Grecians, because the irrevocable fatal decrees by her mediation become cognoscible. This Themis the ancient theologi have therefore placed in the bedchamber and throne of Jupiter, fountain of life and livelihood[m]."

[m] Et quoniam erudito, et studioso cognitionum omnium principi, malevoli prænoscendi futura pravas artes assignant, advertendum est breviter; unde sapienti viro hoc quoque accidere poterit doctrinæ genus haud leve. Elementorum omnium spiritus, utpote perennium corporum, præsentiente motu semper et ubique vigens, ex his, quæ per disciplinas varias affectamus, participat nobiscum munera divinandi; et substantiales potestates, ritu diverso placatæ, velut ex perpetuis fontium venis vaticina mortalitati suppeditant verba. Quibus numen præesse

5. Yet this conceit of [n]Themis' sovereignty was not the opinion of all, or most ancient heathen doctors: for some have taught, that Tellus[o] (or the spirit of the earth) did give oracles before Themis meddled in these businesses. During the time of both their regencies, Nox by others was esteemed at least as midwife of revelations, whereof sometime she had been reputed queen-mother, because these secret predictions of destiny, or fatal dooms, were usually brought to light in silent darknesses. Not much different from Ammian's philosophy are many of Plutarch's conjectures of the inspiration and expiration of oracles. Julian, it seems, from Plutarch's principles hoped to encourage these divining spirits to follow their former studies, and recall them to their wonted seats by reviving their ancient rites, and reestablishing their privileges; as if *honos alit artes* had place amongst these petty gods.

6. This philosophical opinion did fit the forementioned temptation to superstition, as the clasp doth the keeper; and with their impulsive help were able to draw the present Christian world, not well catechized, into the bottomless sink of foulest idolatry. And though from consciousness of our ignorance in the works of nature we allow the issue of many practices, whereof we can assign no probable special cause, but
915 only in charity to ourselves and others suppose they have some right unto their being by the ordinary course of nature; yet some disorderly overgrown

dicitur Themidis; quam ex eo, quod fixa fatali lege decreta præscire fas sit in posterum (quæ Tithemena sermo Græcus appellat) ita cognominatam, in cubili solioque Jovis vigoris vivifici theologi veteres collocarunt.—Ammian. Marcellin. lib. 21. [principio.]

[n] Vide Stephanum Pighium de Dea Themide.

[o] Vide Gyraldum, [Hist. Deor. Syntag. 15. de Themide.]

stems there be of this charitable credulity, which bring forth little better fruit than that which the Christian world condemned in Julian. As for example, such as from uncertain traditions can conceive hope and attempt the practice of curing diseases by amulets, or by application of supposed medicines apparently destitute of any natural active force, will quickly sell over to acknowledge some hidden virtue, or supernatural efficacy, concomitant or assistant, which in plain terms they will not call their God or Creator, yet will think of it as of a good spirit, ready to help in time of need, so it be sought unto by such means as the cabalists of these secret mysteries shall prescribe. Whatsoever the matter of the medicine may be, (though ofttimes it be rather verbal than material,) the manner of applying it is for the most part merely magical, and serves (though not in the intention of the patient or physician) as a solemn sacrifice to the founders of these arts. Or if the manner of applying or wearing medicines be not superstitiously ceremonious, the solemn professing (though always not verbally expressed) of credence, or belief prerequired unto their efficacy, is idolatrous. Of practices in this kind, though the practitioners will or can assign no reason, save only traditions of luck good or bad to follow, yet may we safely presume the most part to be naught; because we may evidently derive the original of many from conceits merely heathenish and idolatrous. Such is the use of vervine, of our lady's gloves, and St. John's grass, at this day in no less request amongst some rude and ignorant Christians, than sometimes they were amongst the ancient Grecians or Romans, to whose manners Theocritus and Virgil in their poems do allude:

———*Baccare frontem*
Cingite, ne vati noceat mala lingua futuro[o].

Lest naughty tongue whilst poet's young,
his brain do blast:
Let lucky grass 'bout his temple pass,
to bind them fast.

That other piece of the same poet, concerning the use of vervine, smells too rankly of magical sacrifice or incense:

Verbenas adole pingues, et mascula thura. [Ec. 8. 65.]

It may be questioned whether the Roman[p] legates did wear vervine upon superstitious confidence of some hidden virtue in it, or as an emblematical allusion to the superstitious conceit of the vulgar. But wonted they were to use bunches of it in their solemn embassages, whether in token that their persons ought not, or out of vain hope that their persons could not be violated so long as they were under the protection of this herb, accounted sacred. The most superstitious hopes, implied in these or the like practices of the heathen, may be more than paralleled by the vain confidence which some ignorant Christians put in the secret virtue of these and like herbs for curing strange diseases, or for their safeguard against thunder, fiends, or wicked spirits. To this purpose I well remember a tradition that was old when I was young, better believed by such as told it than if it had been canonical scripture. Itw as of a maid that liked well of

[o] Eclog. [7. 28.]

[p] Eo magis obtinuit, ut legati publici sancti habeantur: adeo ut, siquid jurisconsulto Martiano credimus, sanctum vocari cœperit a sagminibus, id est, verbenis, quas herbas Romanorum legati ferebant, ne ab ullo violarentur adversus jus gentium. Quod si quis ipsos pulsasset, hostibus dedebatur ex sententia Q. Mutii.—Forcat. Jurisconsul. de Gallorum Imperio et Philosoph. lib. 5. pag. 683. Greg. Turonensis tradit legatos Francorum mitti solitos cum virgis consecratis, ne a quoquam offenderentur.—Forcat. ibidem.

the devil making love to her in the habit of a gallant young man, but could not enjoy his company, nor he hers, so long as she had vervine and St. John's grass about her; for to this effect he brake his mind unto her at last in rhyme:

If thou hope to be leman mine, 916
Lay aside the St. John's grass and the vervine.

To rob a swallow's nest built in a fire-house, is from some old beldams' catechisms held a more fearful sacrilege than to steal a chalice out of a church. Besides tradition they have no reason so to think. The prime cause of this superstitious fear, or hope of good luck by their kind usage, was that these birds were accounted sacred amongst the Romans [q] *diis penatibus*, to their household gods, of which number Venus, the especial patroness of swallows, was one.

7. Such a presidency as Ammianus assigned to Themis and the substantial virtues of the elements is to this day given by these magic cabalists unto spirits over metals, stones, and herbs; each have their several patrons. And if the practice be for the practitioners conceived good, the spirit which prospers it shall not be reputed evil. Thus are the fairies, from difference of events ascribed to them, divided into good and bad, whenas it is but one and the same malignant fiend that meddles in both, seeking sometimes to be feared, otherwhiles to be loved as God, for the bodily harms or good turns supposed to be in his power. And permitted (no question) he is to do both, in just punishment of their heathenish superstition or servility, that can esteem him worthy either of religious love or fear.

8. It was my hap since I undertook the ministry to question an ignorant soul (whom by undoubted report

q Vide Gyraldum, &c. de Diis Penatibus. [Hist. Deor. Syntag. xv.]

I had known to have been seduced by a teacher of unhallowed arts to make a dangerous experiment) what he saw or heard when he watched the falling off the fern-seed at an unseasonable and suspicious hour. Why, (quoth he,) (fearing (as his brief reply occasioned me to conjecture) lest I should press him to tell before company what he had voluntarily confessed unto a friend in secret about some fourteen years before,) do you think that the devil hath aught to do with that good seed? No, it is in the keeping of the king of fairies, and he, I know, will do me no harm, although I should watch it again: yet had he utterly forgotten this king's name, upon whose kindness he so presumed, until I remembered it unto him out of my reading in Huon of Bourdeaux. And having made this answer, he began to pose me thus: Sir, you are a scholar, and I am none; tell me what said the angel to our lady? or what conference had our lady with her cousin Elizabeth concerning the birth of St. John the Baptist? as if his intention had been to make bystanders believe that he knew somewhat more in this point than was written in such books as I use to read. Howbeit, the meaning of his riddle I quickly conceived and he confessed to be this, that the angel did foretell John Baptist should be born at that very instant in which the fern-seed, at other times invisible, did fall: intimating further, (as far as I could then perceive,) that this saint of God had some extraordinary virtue from the time or circumstance of his birth. So fair a colour had his instructor, by profession a mathematician, by practice a conjurer, cast upon this superstitious and ungodly experiment; as the most part of magical ceremonies or observances pretend their warrant from some resemblances of sacred actions, or from circumstances of miraculous cures

wrought by our Saviour, his prophets, or apostles. Many instances to this purpose are to my remembrance gathered by Delrius. This upon mine own knowledge and observation I can relate; of two sent more than a mile, after the sun-setting, to fetch south-running water, with a strict injunction not to salute any either going or coming, no, not their dearest 917
friends, if they should chance to meet them (as by chance they did). Such silence had well beseemed them in God's temple, but in this case was the sacrifice of fools, an offering up of their tongues and lips unto the service of devils; yet colourable amongst the credulous, by Elisha's instructions given to Gehazi when he sent him to cure the Shunamite's child; albeit these literally import rather haste, than hope of good speed by their observance. All the hidden virtues of the forementioned seed, invisible, save only to the superstitious, I now remember not, nor were some of them fit to be related. But the rarer or stranger efficacy it or other herb or seed may be conceived to have, the more eagerly are they sought after by the needy or distressed, in body especially. [r]Extreme misery, or distressful penury, occasioned by course of nature, not by violence, is by nature credulous, and apt to breed a good conceit in the simple of any thing that is publicly disliked or disallowed by the learned. And credulity matching with eagerness of desire brings forth vain hope, or stubborn confidence, without any just external occasion to beget it, as some females are fruitlessly fertile without the male. And hopes enlarged or augmented are forthwith in travail of action, and long after practices for their accomplishment, although it be to offer solemn sacrifice to infernal powers, whose sacraments are the oftener and more

[r] Miseri facile credunt quæ volunt.

zealously frequented, because such grace or good luck as by divine permission ensues upon their celebration is always conferred *ex opere operato.* No strict examination of the communicant's conscience, no patient expectation of God's providence (from which, as from a yoke burdensome to flesh and blood, they exempt all that put confidence in them) is required unto their efficacy. If they fail in operation, the present damage or bodily danger is not great, only so much labour lost; and speediness of resolution, or quick manifestation of fatal doom, be it good or bad, naturally excites men beset with fear or hope to attempt the trial of such experiments as are prescribed them. The heathen [s]Pliny well observes "magical vanities or observances to have drawn their first lineaments from physic, creeping into men's opinions under fair shows" and sweet promises of health, much desired by all, but proffered by magicians in extraordinary measure, and by means more sacred than medicines sensible; and thus lastly, to have fastened their throne throughout all ages by a triple bond, by weaving religion and mathematical arts into their warp, which was first

[s]Magicas vanitates sæpius quidem antecedentis operis parte, ubicunque causæ locusque poscebant, coarguimus, detegemusque etiamnum in paucis. tamen digna res est de qua plura dicantur, vel eo ipso, quod fraudulentissima artium plurimum in toto terrarum orbe plurimisque sæculis valuit. Auctoritatem ei maximam fuisse nemo miretur; quandoquidem sola artium tres alias imperiosissimas humanæ mentis complexa in unam se redegit. Natam primum e medicina nemo dubitat, ac specie salutari irrepsisse velut altiorem sanctioremque quam medicinam: ita blandissimis desideratissimisque promissis addidisse vires religionis, ad quas maxime etiamnum caligat humanum genus. Atque ut hoc quoque suggesserit miscuisse artes mathematicas, nullo non avido futura de sese sciendi, atque ea de cœlo verissime peti credente. Ita possessis hominum sensibus triplici vinculo, in tantum fastigii adolevit, ut hodieque etiam in magna parte gentium prævaleat, et in oriente regum regibus imperet. —Vide Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. 30. in principio.

spun from physic. This opportunity of associating mathematical sciences was easily gained from that inbred desire which all men have of foreknowing things concerning themselves, and from a prenotion that the foreknowledge of them is from heaven.

8. The greater sovereignty these curious arts had gotten in the eastern nations, the more they commend the majesty of Christ's new-erected kingdom, which could so suddenly put them down, and cause the [t] contemplators of such grand mysteries to sacrifice their books and labours to the simplicity of the gospel. It may be want either of leisure well to examine, or of capacity to conceive, or perhaps of present memory to 918
recall exactly what I conceived of some Paracelsian writings when I read them, makes me yet strongly jealous, lest as one devil more than the players had dressed is said to have appeared upon the stage, so some spirit more than natural doth sometimes insinuate himself into their curious extractions of spirits, and pretended search of medicines metaphysical. In Paracelsus himself, though I understood not all, yet some passages, I am certain, are so plainly impious, that no man which understands the principles of Christian religion will undertake to make any orthodoxal construction of them. Besides the suspiciousness of their matter, the character of many of their writings ministered more just occasion for us to think that one and the same spirit did breathe in their riddles and in heathen oracles, than the congruity of Averroes' and Mahomet's style did unto Ludovicus Vives, to avouch that he which liked well the writings of the one, could not much mislike the other's Alcoran. As their pretended mysteries are usually covered with the same veil of ambiguity and obscurity wherein seducing hea-

[t] Vide Acts xix. 19.

thenish oracles were enwrapped, so the evasions to salve their authors' credit, when success no way answers the expectation, are as obvious. Either the right meaning of the rule was mistaken, or else there was some defect in the practice. That Paracelsus and his followers are schismatical physicians is too well known, unless Galen and Hippocrates be not so orthodoxal as the world accounts them. But how justly Paracelsus[u] and his followers[x] are charged by Erastus with the Arian heresy, and with other doctrines of devils, with superstitious charms, and magic spells, either unknown unto the ancient heathen, or detested by the more ingenious sort of them, I leave it to their censure which have better leisure and opportunity to examine, greater experience and deeper judgment to debate, the controversy betwixt them; only this perhaps I might in charity wish, that as no man may minister ordinary physic unto others without license, so none might be admitted to read their speculations, or try the truth of their professed mysteries, without public approbation, not only of their sufficiency in learning, but of their sincerity in religion. For cer-

[u] Omnem porro Mahometanorum audaciam superat, quod homo, non dicam impius, (nimis enim leve est hoc verbum,) sed plane Tartareus, audet affirmare, spiritum mundi (qui idem sit spiritus cum spiritu corporis nostri) Filium Dei esse conspicuum, minus purum et perfectum calore illo suo solari.—Erasti Disputat. pars tertia, pag. 43.

[x] His accedit, quod se Paracelsi discipulum esse non negat: quem Arianum fuisse nimis constat, &c. Sane quos paulo notiores habeo Paracelsicos (de illis loquor præcipue, qui magistrum suum omnibus classicis scriptoribus non exæquare tantum, verum etiam præponere audent) vel ex certis argumentis, vel ex eorum scriptis, vel ex amicorum et familiarium ipsorum narratione, perspexi magiæ per quam studiosos esse, cabalam et adeptam philosophiam Paracelsi in os nobis palam laudare non erubescunt: quas tam certum est scelestæ magiæ partes quasdam esse, quam est certum me vivere dum ista scribo.—Erastus, ibidem, pag. 47, 48.

tainly great are the temptations whereunto this new or late revived philosophy exposeth wits, (young especially, or addicted to curiosity,) so great, as they cannot be prevented or resisted, but only by minds thoroughly grounded in the orthodoxal faith. Hyperbolical force, or pretended virtue, assigned by them to their medicines, and the magnificence of the end proposed, naturally inspires indefatigable alacrity in seeking or trying means possible to effect it. And curiosity of long and eager search, not satisfied, will at length be ready to clasp with practices superstitiously curious rather than fail. Such of their principles as are approvable, perhaps more to be esteemed than the received maxims of common philosophy or physic, are so interlaced with other stuff, or intimation of more hidden secresies, that they may seem laid but as baits to draw youths to an implicit belief of their high mysteries, always clothed with a colour of religion, as if they were the only men which understood the grand mystery of the creation, and the precise manner of the resurrection. I should not much digress, though I should enlarge this caveat, intended only for young students, lest they should be deceived through vain 919
philosophy. Even in Dorney[y] (though he write more

[y] Quicunque talem negat medicinam dari posse, quæ valeat incorruptibilitate sua quamvis corruptionem indifferenter corrigere, cœlum inferiora sustentare vel gubernare negat. Sed ne videamur naturæ secreta lenocinio prostituere velle, pauca de his sapientiæ filiis sufficiant: hi facile quid per hæc velimus intelligunt. Qui vero nostram ignorant artem et rident, fugiant hinc procul, quoniam illis in ruinam est posita: ut quærentes non inveniant, et audientes non intelligant. Non est projiciendum rosas et margaritas ante porcos, ne pedibus eas, tanquam betas labiis eorum insuetas, conculcent. Sapientiæ filii spiritu, non ore hauriunt alimentum, ut mente magis quam corpore vivant. Interim tamen, ut sit mens sana in corpore sano, cupiunt, donec a naturæ vinculo soluta, tria hæc in unum rursus unita, vivant in æternum.—Dornæus in Clave Philosoph. Chymisticæ, lib. 3. in fin.

Christian-like than his master) there appears some spice of that spirit of pride which first sublimated physic into magic. It contents him not that the matter of his medicines should be reputed truly celestial, but his doctrine must be enstyled heavenly; he and his followers must be wisdom's children; their controvenaries sons of folly, the brood of darkness.

CHAP. XX.

Of the special Nutriment which the Poetry of ancient Times did afford to the forementioned Seeds of Idolatry, with some other particular Allurements to delightful Superstition. That the same Nutriment which feeds Superstition, being rightly prepared, may nourish Devotion.

1. He that is a poet by nature, or an habitual practitioner in the art of poetry, hath his wits always tuned to such an high key or strain, as ordinary wits cannot reach, unless they be thereto intended or stretched by the actual impulsions of externals much affected, or some occasioned fervency of desires. Fervency of desires, though lodged in muddy breasts not seasoned with a drop of Helicon, will entertain brute or inanimate creatures with such speech and gestures, as if the one had reason, or the other sense. Oft doth extremity of heat impel day-labourers, or fear of rain the husbandman, to entreat the wind as if it could hear as well as it is heard; Blow wind, gentle wind blow, &c. Many out of deep and inveterate discontent will vent their curses in poetical fury, though in rustic phrase, against the place wherein deserved mischief hath befallen them. Others out of the fulness of love, courteous nature, or affectionate compliment, will kiss the ground from which they have received extraor-

dinary good. As Charles the Fifth, after he had resigned the empire and bid the wars farewell, bestowed his *osculum pacis* upon the Spanish earth, whereto, in lieu of all benefits thence received, he solemnly bequeathed the residue of his retired life, and his wearied limbs, when death should take them. And mariners after a tedious and dangerous voyage will salute the shore with compliment very suspicious to be daily practised by inhabitants. True imitation of affection, whilst it vents its fulness, is the best artificial motive to breed or stir affection in our auditors or spectators. From imitation of men's speeches and gestures in like exigences of affection or plunges of vehement desires, came prosopopœias first in request amongst rhetoricians; a form of speech very effectual and approvable in its right subject, the circumstance of time and place duly observed. But the frequent use of it in panegyrical orations about martyrs' graves did first occasion that gross idolatry of invocation of saints; although it came not till long after by degrees insensible, as it were an huge cistern filling by continual droppings, to that height, wherewith it so swelled in the Romish church, 920
as it had almost overflown the whole world besides. Yet as these panegyrics were very ancient, so the first beginning of prosopopœias might as easily occasion the heathen to mistake Christian devotions, as the unseasonable imitation of their first use did seduce Christians afterwards to an heathenish conceit of deceased martyrs. So short had the usual passage from these figurative and affectionate exclamations to idolatrous invocation of men departed been, that the heathen, either out of their own experience that such prosopopœias were introductions to deifications of men deceased, or from some relics of their first leaders'

dispositions propagated unto them, did dig the bodies of noble martyrs out of their graves, throwing others after torture into the sea, as fearing lest their encomiasts should adore and worship them, after the same manner they themselves did their grand patrons, great benefactors, or heroics, whom breath of flattery, as the next discourse sheweth, sought of dead men to make living gods.

2. These exclamations were more rifely, more dangerous in poets than in orators, or such as used them not but upon external impulsion, and in a manner against their wills. As are the poets' names, so is their nature: makers they are, and herein they imitate the Maker of all things, that they *call things that are not as if they were*, and strive to infuse the spirit of life and motion into every subject they take in hand; as they feign Pygmalion did into his image. So womanish are we all that are born of women, that our delightful and choice conceits desire always to have their pictures drawn in seemly lustre and proportion, and we solace our internal fancies with looking on these outward images, as gentlewomen do themselves by gazing on their own faces represented unto them in a favourable glass. Of thoughts or fancies the poet is the only picturer. Such amongst the heathen as had the right trick of this art, would always either invest their matter with the shape, or grace it with the presence of some goddess, nor matter nor manner of speech ordinary or merely human could content them. From this strong bent of affection joining with the high strain of speech, or invention peculiar to poets, did their fervent wishes or ejaculations hit that point in a moment, whereto others' affectionate exclamations or rhetorical prosopopœias did rather slide than fly.

The wind, whiles it is apprehended as a messenger of love, is placed above his rank:

Daphni ferat tibi ventus ad aures!

So is the air made by another poet in a manner joint sharer with God in invocations for revenge:

Audiat hæc æther, quique est Deus ultor in illo.

O heavens, O God, hear this,
Who in the heavens avenger is.

These artificial forms of speech, by process of time and opportunity, became patterns of practice in earnest unto others; and lifeless creatures, to whom such prayers or wishes were thus by way of poetical compliment tendered, did sometimes encroach upon the express titles of God, to whom invocation is only due.

Somne, quies rerum, placidissime, Somne, deorum,
Pax animi, quem cura fugit, tu pectora duris
Fessa ministeriis mulces, reparasque labori[y].

O Sleep, the sweetest of all gods,
that givest all things rest;
The peace of mind, that scares all cares, 921
with labour hard oppress'd;
Our bodies thou dost recreate,
and with new strength invest.

Another heroical poet makes the princess (which had exposed her husband to the sword by instigating him to recover his right by it) present her supplications to dumb creatures, whilst she sought her husband's corpse by night amongst the slain, in such a style, as were enough to cast a musing reader into a waking dream or imagination that the walls, the houses, the very soil whereon she trod, had been animated with some peculiar genius capable of friendship and foehood:

[y] [Ovid. Met. lib. xi. 623.]

Horruit Argia, dextramque ad mœnia tendens,
Urbs optata prius: nunc tecta hostilia Thebæ:
Et tamen illæsas reddis si conjugis umbras,
Sic quoque dulce solum[z].

With grief o'ergrown to Theban walls her suppliant hands she bends:
Oh city late too dearly lov'd (since love in sorrow ends),
Now hostile Thebes; yet so thou will'st my consort's corpse restore,
Still shalt thou be a soil to me as dear as heretofore.

These or the like speeches of heathen poets, if by Christians they may not be uttered without reproof, Lactantius his censure of Tully for his too lavish rhetorical prosopopœia made unto Philosophy shall save me a labour. "'[a]O Philosophy, the guide of life, the searcher out of virtue, the banisher of vice, without thee not only we thy followers should be no bodies, but even the life of mankind could be nothing worth, for thou hast been the foundress of laws, the mistress of manners and discipline.' As if forsooth," saith this author, "Philosophy itself could take any notice of his words, or as if He rather were not to be praised which did bestow her. He might with as good reason have rendered the like rhetorical thanks to his meat and drink; for without these the life of man cannot consist, howbeit these are things without sense. Benefits they are, but they can be no bene-

[z] Statius, [12. 255.]

[a] O vitæ Philosophia dux (inquit), O virtutis indagatrix, expultrixque vitiorum, quid non modo nos, sed omnino vita hominum sine te esse potuisset? Tu inventrix legum, tu magistra morum ac disciplinæ fuisti: quasi vero aliquid per se ipsa sentiret, ac non potius ille laudandus esset, qui eam tribuit? Potuit eodem modo gratias agere cibo, et potui; quia sine his rebus vita constare non possit; in quibus ut sensus, ita beneficii nihil est. Atqui ut illa corporis alimenta sunt, sic animæ sapientia.—Lactan. de falsa Sapientia, lib. 3. cap. 13.

factors. As they are the nourishment of the body, so is wisdom or true philosophy of the soul."

3. That the seminaries of poetry should be the chief nurses of idolatry, argues how apt the one is to bring forth the other; or rather, how both lay like twins in the womb of the same unpurified affection, usually begotten by one spirit. Woods and fountains, as every schoolboy knoweth, were held chief mansions of the Muses, to whose courts the poets resorted to do their homage, invoking their aid as the goddesses whom they most renowned, hereto allured by the opportunity of the place. The pleasant spectacle and sweet resounds which woods and shady fountains afford, will sublimate illiterate spirits, and tune or temper minds, otherwise scarce apt for any, to retired contemplations. They are to every noise as an organized body to the soul or spirit which moves it; gentle blasts diffused through them do so well symbolize with the internal agitations of our minds and spirits, that when we hear them we seem desirous to understand their language, and learn some good lesson from them. And albeit they utter not expressly what we conceive, yet to attentive and composed thoughts they inspire a secret seed or fertility of invention, especially sacred.

4. But is or was the notion of the Deity naturally 922
more fresh and lively in these seminaries of heathenish poetry, than in other places? Yes, every unusual place or spectacle, whether remarkably beautiful or ghastly, imprints a touch or apprehension of some latent invisible power as president of what we see. Seneca's observation to this purpose will open unto us one main head or source of heathenish idolatry, which well cleansed might add fertility to Christian devotion: *In unoquoque virorum bonorum* (*quis*

Deus incertum est) *habitat Deus.* To prove this conclusion, that God is near us, even within us, thus he leads us: "[b] If thou light on a grove thickset with trees of such unusual antiquity and height as that they take away the sight of heaven by the thickness of their branches overspreading one another; the height of the wood, the solitariness of the place, and the uncouthness of the close and continued shade in the open air, do jointly represent a kind of heaven on earth, and exhibit a proof unto thee of some divine power present. Or if thou chance to see a den whose spacious concavity hath not been wrought by the hand-labour of men, but by causes natural, which have so deeply eaten out and consumed the stones, that they have left a hanging mountain to overspread it like a canopy, the sight likewise will affect the mind with some touch or apprehension of religion. We adore the heads of great rivers," &c. Vide parag. 8 and 9 of this chapter.

5. And because superstition can hardly sprout, but from the degenerate and corrupt seeds of devotion, wicked spirits did haunt these places most, which they perceived fittest for devout affections. As sight of such groves and fountains as Seneca describes would nourish affection; so the affection, naturally desirous to enlarge itself, would, with the help of the spirit's

[b] Si tibi occurrit vetustis arboribus et solitam altitudinem egressis frequens lucus, et conspectum cœli densitate ramorum aliorum alios protegentium submovens: illa proceritas sylvæ et secretum loci, et admiratio umbræ, in aperto tam densæ atque continuæ, fidem tibi numinis facit. Et si quis specus saxis penitus exesis montem suspenderit, non manu factus, sed naturalibus causis in tantam laxitatem excavatus: animum tuum quadam religionis suspicione percutiet. Magnorum fluminum capita veneramur: subita ex abdito vasti amnis eruptio aras habet: coluntur aquarum calentium fontes: et stagna quædam vel opacitas vel immensa altitudo sacravit.—Seneca, Epistola 41. [lib. 5.]

sleights and instigations, incite the superstitious to make their groves more retired and sightly. Thus, like cunning anglers, they first bait the places, and then fish them; and their appearance being most usual when men's minds were thus tuned to devotion, the eye would easily seduce the heart to fasten his affections to the place wherein they appeared as more sacred than any other. And to the spirits thus appearing, as to the sole lords and owners of the delightful soil and chief patrons of these bewitching rites and customs, they thought their best devotions were not too good.

6. Throughout the story of the judges and kings of Israel we may observe how groves were as the banqueting houses of false gods, the traps and gins of sacrilegious superstition. For this cause, in all suppressions of idolatry, the commission runs jointly for cutting down groves and demolishing altars. So God, Deut. vii. 5, after commandment given to destroy the Amorites, addeth this injunction withal: *Ye shall overthrow their altars, and break down their pillars; and ye shall cut down their groves, and burn their graven images with fire.* And unto Gideon, the first, in my remembrance, to whom this warrant was in particular directed, *Throw down the altar of Baal that thy father hath made, and cut down the grove that is by it,* Judg. vi. 25. And Hezekiah, whiles he removed the high places and brake the idols, cut down the groves, 2 Kings xviii. 4. The like did Josias after him, 2 Kings xxiii. 14. How available either this destruction of groves was to the extirpation, or the cherishing of them to the growth and increase of idolatry, the good success of Jagello his like religious 923
policy in winning the Lithuanians (his stiffly idolatrous and strangely superstitious countrymen) unto Chris-

tian religion, may inform us. I relate the story at large as I find it, because it contains fresh and lively experiments as well of this present, as of divers other observations in this treatise; and no man will easily distrust ancient reports when he sees them paralleled by modern and neighbour examples. "[c]The common sort," saith mine author, speaking of the Lithuanians about two hundred years ago, "was very stiff, and would hardly endure to be entreated to relinquish their religion, being formerly accustomed to worship the fire for God, and to adore the thunder and lightning with divine honour; set groves, or trees in common woods of unusual height, had such authority from antiquity for their sacred esteem, that to cut or burn them, or offer them any violence, was reputed a sacrilege so fearful, as would instantly provoke vengeance divine." But the woods and groves being at length cut down and wasted, without the destruction or harm of any employed in this business, they grew more tractable, and (as if the woods had taught them obedience) began to believe the king's authority and command,

[c] Actum autem in eo conventu, Uladislao rege auctore, de plantanda catholica in Lithuania fide, et idolorum cultu penitus abolendo memoratur: ubi rex non modo boni Principis, sed et apostoli munus suscepit. Nam non solum proponendis vulgo præmiis, sed docendis etiam, et voce, ac oratione movendis, erudiendisque populis tanta ejus occaluerat, patientia, ut nemo hac in parte rege superior, vix similis aliquis spectaretur. Dura porro, et inexorabilis admodum veteri cultu relinquendo extiterat multitudo, utpote quæ ignem pro Deo colere, fulmini divinos honores deferre, lucos, et excelsas arbores in sylvis sacrosanctas habere antiquitus consueverat, quas vi, ferro, aut flamma, aut denique ulla alia violare ratione nec fas, neque tutum reebatur. Verum enimvero cum jussu, et autoritate regia illa partim oppressa, partim exscissa, devastataque extitissent, nec cujusquam aut interitus, aut læsio exinde sequeretur: tum vero sensim effecti Lithuani molliores, regio mandato, et autoritati cedere cæperunt, et tandem etiam Christo nomen dare, et catholicam religionem certatim suscipere minime dubitarunt.—Varsevitius in Parall. p. 129. ed. 1604.

becoming at length forward professors of Christian religion.

7. The like superstitious fear had Constantine's resolution in reformation expelled out of the Egyptian, who would have persuaded him, that if he took their sacred ell or fathom out of Serape's temple, the river Nilus, which was under this conceited god's patronage, would cease to flow:

——At ille
Labitur, et labetur in omne volubilis ævum.

But whether angels had not graced these nurseries of devotion by their appearance unto God's servants in them, (especially before the law was given,) is easilier questioned than determined. The general observation of errors springing from ancient truths imperfectly related, makes me suspect, that the apparition of angels, or manifestation of God's presence, in like places unto holy men, and their demeanour upon such manifestations, was by preposterous imitation drawn to authorize the idololatrical worship of such spirits as the heathen had seen in visible shape; as also of the superstitious esteem or reverence of the places themselves: for in Constantine's time, as Eusebius tells us, the heathens had erected their altars in the oaken grove of Mambree, in which the three angels appeared to Abraham.

8. But whether Constantine, though much offended with the altar, did with it destroy the grove, is uncertain. For albeit the title of the chapter containing this story in our English Eusebius takes it as granted that he did, the text notwithstanding leaves it doubtful, if not more probable, that he did not. Nor was it necessary he should in this case follow the example of Josias or Hezekias, having that liberty which they had not, to build a temple in the same place to the Lord,

unto zealous devotion in whose service the grove might afford no less plenty of fuel than it had done to hea-
24 thenish superstition and idolatry. For that which feedeth superstition through want of instruction only, or through licensed opportunities, not naturally, not of itself, would prove best nutriment of true devotion to such as have the spirit of grace or wisdom to digest it; especially if the practices which nourish superstition be controlled by plausible custom or authority. No affection more fertile of either than the poetical temper, according as it is well or ill employed. No place yields such opportunities for growth, either of root or branch, as woods or groves, or like shrouds or receptacles of retired life: nor could the sight, or solitary frequenting any of these, have nursed such strange superstition in the heathen, but only by suggesting a livelier notion of the Godhead than usual objects could occasion. And if other men's minds be of the same constitution with mine, our apprehensions of the true God as Creator have a kind of spring, when he renews the face of the earth: *Præsentemque refert quælibet herba Deum.* The sudden growth of every grass points out the place of his presence; the variety of flowers and herbs suggests a secret admiration of his inexpressible beauty. In this respect, the frequency of sermons seems most necessary in cities and great towns, that their inhabitants, who (as one wittily observeth) see for the most part but the works of men, may daily hear God speaking unto them; whereas such as are conversant in the fields and woods continually contemplate the works of God. And nothing naturally more apt to awaken our minds, and make them feel or see his operations, than the growth of vegetables, or the strange motions or instincts of creatures merely sensitive. The secret increase or

fructification of vegetables without any inherent motion or motive faculty, and the experience of sensitives accomplishing their ends more certainly without any sparkle of reason, than man doth his by reasonable contrivance or artificial policy, moved some heathens to adore groves, woods, birds, and sensitive creatures almost of every kind for gods, who yet neither worshipped dead elements or living men. Dead elements they neglected, because their qualities less resemble the operations of the living God, with some notions of whose nature they were inspired. Living men they much admired not, in that the cause of every action which they effect, and the manner of bringing their ends about, was too well known. They saw little, it seemeth, in their neighbours, but what they knew to be in themselves, whom they had no reason to take for gods: and if one should have worshipped another, perhaps the rest would have called them fools, as birds or other creatures would have done, so they had known what worship meant: howbeit, such men in every age as could either reveal secrets to come, or bring things to pass beyond the observation or experience of former human wits, were even in their life accounted as gods, or near friends unto some god.

9. Others again, that would have scorned to worship men, or almost any other live creature, otherwise than upon these terms, did adore the heads or first springs of [d]rivers, whose continual motion to feed the streams that flow from them, without any visible original whence their own store should be supplied, is by nature (not stifled by art) a sufficient motive to call the invisible Creator and Fountain of all things to man's remembrance. And some again, whom sight of

[d] Vide annotationem ex Seneca, parag. 4. hujus capitis.

ordinary fountains did less affect, were put in mind of some divine invisible cause or prime mover by the annual overflow of Nilus[e], or the like experiments inscrutable by course of nature. The admirable effects of Nilus' overflow were the cause of that irreligious and brutish disposition which Seneca[f] noteth in the Egyptian husbandmen:

925 *Nemo aratorum in Ægypto cœlum aspicit*[g].

No ploughman in Egypt looks towards heaven.

The like hath a Roman poet:

Te propter nullos tellus tua postulat imbres,
Arida nec Pluvio supplicat herba Jovi[h].

Egyptian earth save Nilus' streams no water knows;
No parched grass or Jove, or moisten'd air there woos.

The soil, being mellowed with this river, seemed less beholden to heaven than Athens was, where (as some collect) the art of tilling the ground was first invented amongst the Grecians. Albeit, I rather think it was the dryness of the soil, wherein that famous city stood, which occasioned that idololatrical emblem, whence some have taken occasion to conjecture that the art of tillage was first manifested there. *Athenis ubi ratio colendi agrum primum ostensa esse Græcis dicitur,*

[e] Adeo autem natura hunc amnem supra reliquos omnes extulit, ut eo tempore increscat, quo maxime usta fervoribus terra aquam desiderat, expletura annuam sitim: cum in ea parte, qua Ægyptus in Ethiopiam vergit, nullis aut raris imbribus adversus siccitatem adjuvetur. Cujus incrementi fœcundissimi ratio soli divinitati accepta ferenda est: frustra enim alias quisquam rationes scrutabitur. Et forte hoc præmio a mundi origine Deus Ægyptum remunerari voluit, præsciens fore ut Christus securus in ea lateret, et Herodem cruentum evaderet.—Forcat. lib. 2. p. 229.

[f] Gymnosophistæ Nilum venerantur magno cultu, ipsumque aquam terramque simul esse prædicant.—Ibid. p. 230.

[g] Why the Egyptians, neglecting heaven, did overesteem the river Nilus, see section 1. chap. 4. par. 4. of this book.

[h] Tibull. I. vii. 25. Vide etiam Plin. in Panegyr. §. 30.

simulachrum terræ extitisse suppliciter a Jove pluviam comprecantis, scribit Pausanias.—Cornar. de Re Vinitoria, lib. i. cap. 9. p. 56. ed. 1604. Some, whether half Christians or mere pagans, ranked by the ancient in the beadroll of heretics, have held the marigold, and like flowers, not uncapable of divine honour by reason of their live sympathy with the sun. The ancient Galls did offer sacrifice unto the mistletoe[i], because the manner of its original is without example in vegetables, being caused (as they conceived) rather by secret celestial influences, than by any earthly or material propagation. So easily are minds apt to admire things strange and uncouth, drawn through curiosity of observation unto superstition and idololatrical performance. That in strange predictions we should apprehend the working of a divine wisdom which we apprehend not in our ordinary cogitations, though in them he always work, falls out no otherwise, than the like error in the common sort of heathen, in whom trees of unusual height, or like spectacles, did raise an

[i] Non est omittenda in ea re et Galliarum admiratio. Nihil habent Druidæ (ita suos appellant magos) visco, et arbore, in qua gignatur (si modo sit robur) sacratius. Jam per se roborum eligunt lucos, nec ulla sacra sine ea fronde conficiunt, ut inde appellati quoque interpretatione Græca possint Druidæ videri. Enimvero quicquid adnascatur illis, e cœlo missum putant, signumque esse electæ ab ipso Deo arboris. Est autem id rarum admodum inventu, et repertum magna religione petitur: et ante omnia sexta luna, quæ principia mensium annorumque his facit, et seculi post tricesimum annum, quia jam virium abunde habeat, nec sit sui dimidia. Omnia sanantem appellantes suo vocabulo, sacrificiis epulisque rite sub arbore præparatis, duos admovent candidi coloris tauros, quorum cornua tunc primum vinciantur. Sacerdos candida veste cultus arborem scandit: falce aurea demetit: candido id excipitur sago. Tum deinde victimas immolant, precantes ut suum donum Deus prosperum faciat his quibus dederit. Fœcunditatem eo poto dari cuicunque animalium sterili arbitrantur: contraque venena omnia esse remedio. Tanta gentium in rebus frivolis plerumque religio est.—Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. 16. [in fine.]

imagination of God's presence, which sight of grass, of ordinary herbs or lower shrubs, (though in the lowest of them he be continually present,) could not prompt unto their drowsy fantasies. As seldom are our imaginations so throughly awaked, as to take express notice of God's presence without strong pushes of unusual accidents, or violent incursion of unacquainted objects. Much familiarity breeds contempt of their persons, whose presence, were it rare and uncouth, would beget admiration, awe, and reverence. This experiment, so certain in civil conversation, that it is now grown into a proverb, is rooted in that undoubted maxim in matters natural, *A consuetis nulla fit passio,* and it bears no better fruit in matters theological. For albeit God's presence be most intimate in our souls, and his working in other creatures manifested unto our eyes; yet because this contact of his presence is perpetual, and the manifestation of his power continually obvious, we usually have no sense or feeling of the one or other, until it touch us after some unusual manner, or open our eyes by presenting them with wonders. Howbeit, whilst these are absent to shake off the slumber, and to inapt us that are Christ's ministers to be affected with God's presence, such abstraction of ourselves from secular turbulencies as the poets used would be much available.

926 *Carmina secessum scribentis et otia quærunt*[k].

Good verses always do require
A vacant mind and sweet retire.

Another thought he always lost himself in the great press at Rome, without hope of finding himself, till he and his wits met again at his rural home: *Mihi me reddentis agelli*[l]. And is it possible we should not

[k] Ovid. Trist. i. 41. [l] Horace, 1 Epist. 14. 1.

perceive a great loss of God's presence, so long as we continue in places filled only with the sound of secular contentions or debatements, wherein the world and devil find opportunity to enstamp their image upon our souls, preventing all impression of matters heavenly? But when we come into solitary or uncouth places, either decked with native comeliness and unborrowed beauty, or never soiled by secular commerce or frequency; the conceit of God and his goodness gains first possession of our vacant thoughts, and ravisheth our minds with the fragrancy of his presence. To have some place of retire, which hath been witness of no thoughts but sacred, is a great help unto devotion; the renewed sight or remembrance of every circumstance or local adjunct occasions us to resume our former cogitations without any curb or impediment, which in places wherein our minds have much run on other matters we can hardly prosecute without interruption or mixture of worldly toys.

10. Would God it were free to make that harmless use or application of these observations unto others, which I have often made, and hope to make each day more than other, unto myself. And though I expect not the concurrence of many men, no not of my brethren and companions, to second me in my desire of that reformation, which I have no great cause to hope I shall ever see in this land, yet can I not deem it a fruitless labour to pour forth my wishes in the world's sight before Him who alone can do all things: "And what is it thy servant, O Lord, could most desire to see or hear, before he go hence, and be no more seen or heard amongst the sons of mortal men? That thy temples throughout this land might be more secluse, and the lives of thy ministers more retired; that no action, speech, or gesture, which bears the character of conver-

sation secular, or merely civil, should once so much as present itself to our senses, whiles we approach thy dwellings; that in these short passages from our private lodgings to thy secluse and silent courts, we might perceive as great an alteration in our behaviour and affections, as if we had gone out of an old world into a new, or travelled from one kingdom to another people."

11. Had not those privileges of retired life, wherewith superstition had blest her children, been held too glorious by reformers of religion for reformed devotion to enjoy; the ingenuous poverty of the English clergy might have made the whole world rich in all manner of spiritual knowledge. The loss of monasterial possessions had been light, if, as in temporal states, the honour (with some competent portion of ancient inheritance) remains entire unto the next heir male, while the greatest part of the lands possessed by the father goes for dowry unto his daughters; so that liberty of enjoying themselves, which had been peculiar to them before all privileges of secular nobility, which impaired them, might have been reserved to the sons of Levi, though but with some corners of their ancient retired mansions, whose magnificence had brought them unto nothing. Retired life itself is such an hidden treasury, as were it within ken of possibility to be regained in these our days, ecclesiastical dignities,
927 though offered gratis, would without equivocation be freely refused, even by such as best deserve them. He that now brings iron would bring brass, instead of brass we should have silver, instead of silver gold, towards the rebuilding of God's temple; or he that now scarce brings any quantity of better metal well refined to this good work, would bring pearl, topaz, the onyx, and every precious stone in great abundance. But

now, through want of these sacred gardens, which might have been stored with spiritual simples, the infectious disease of these atheistical and sacrilegious times is become incurable in the physicians themselves. Ambition, even in God's messengers, overgroweth age, and makes us more undiscreet and childish in the period of maturity than we were in any part of our infancy. For few if any of us, or seldom if at any time of our childhood, have longed to put on our best apparel towards bedtime. And yet what tricks and devices, over and above all that Machiavel hath meditated, do we put in practice, rather to overburden, than invest our souls with titles of dignity and honour, whilst our windingsheets do expect us, as having one foot in the grave; within whose territories ploughmen are full compeers to kings; where the spade may challenge precedence of the sceptre; where the mitre may not contest with the mattock.

CHAP. XXI.

Of Idolatry occasioned from inordinate Affection towards Friends deceased, or ceremonious Solemnities at Funerals.

1. THE implanted notion of the Godhead, which with diversity of affections hath its spring and fall, was in some heathens so buried, that nothing but sorrow for friends departed, or affection towards public benefactors, could revive it. Such were the Augilæ[m], a people of Afric, which had no gods besides the ghosts of men deceased. Their error, though gross, was linked in a double chain of truth: the one, that souls of men deceased did not altogether cease to be; the other, that the things which are seen

[m] Augilæ, et ipsi Africæ populi, nullos deos putarunt præter defunctorum manes, a quibus responsa petere solebant, sepulchris incubantes, ut mela aliique prodiderunt.—Gyraldus histor. Deorum, syntagma 1. pag. 6.

were ordered and governed by unseen powers; yet loath they were to believe any thing, which in some sort they had not seen, or perceived by some sense. Hence did their general notion miscarry in the descent unto particulars, prostrating itself before sepulchres filled with dead bones, and consulting souls departed. Though not in the negative, yet in the affirmative part of these men's verdict concerning the gods, most heathens upon occasions did concur. The superstition might easily be either bred or fed from an opinion so probable to most in speculation as opportunity would easily draw all to the practice. The grand censurer[n], while he denies "deceased ancestors to be any whit affected with the weal or misery of posterity," implies this to have been a received opinion before his time, for such, for the most part, he either refutes or refines. This principle being once settled in men's minds, strong impulsions either of hope or fear would extort such prayers and supplications to friends or ancestors departed, as upon like occasions should have been tendered to them living. And the supplicants, not knowing any set means of procuring audience before patrons now absent and out of sight, would try all they had known in like cases practised by others, or could invent themselves. Sacrifices, amongst other means,
928 were as the common lure to woo ghosts or spirits unto familiar conference, or, at least, take notice of suits exhibited, and to manifest their answers by the effect. Thus Alexander[o], though a prince of Aristo-

[n] Aristot. Ethic. lib. 1. c. 11.

[o] Vigesimo postquam domo discesserat die, Seston pervenit. Inde in eleunta profectus, Protesilao super ipsius tumu m sacrificat: quod Protesilaus creditur, Græcorum qui cum Agamemnone ad Ilium militarunt, primus in Asiam pedem intulisse. Sacrificii vero scopus hic erat, ut felicior ipsi quam Protesilao descensus in Asiam esset.—Arrianus de Expedit. Alex. l. 1. p. 12.

tle's instructing, being now bound for Asia, offered sacrifice to Protesilaus upon his tomb, with supplication for better success than he to whom he offered sacrifice had there found, being slain in the Trojan war. Did the great monarch (as we may conjecture) think that the soul of this Grecian worthy, not pacified with such offerings, would envy better success unto his successors of Greece? or did he rather hope that Protesilaus, by resolute adventure and untimely death, had merited a warrant from the gods to grant safe conduct unto Grecian nobles that upon just quarrels invaded Asia? For the reason why Alexander should sacrifice to him before any other, was in that he of all the Grecian captains had set first foot in Asia; as if by death he had taken possession of protectorship over his countrymen in like expeditions. But whatsoever motive Alexander had to this idolatry, from that general improvement of men's esteem of others' worth and virtue absent in respect of them present, many nations were prone to adore them as gods after death whom they honoured and reverenced above others, yet with human honour only, whiles they lived. From this observance amongst the Grecians [p] Callisthenes ingeniously and wittily refutes Anaxarchus, persuading the Macedonians to give divine honour to Alexander, ready enough to receive it before his death. "Whatsoever the barbarians may practise," saith this Grecian philosopher, "Greece, I know, hath no such custom, nor did our ancestors worship Hercules as a god, so long as he conversed among them in human shape, nor after his death until the Delphic oracle had so appointed." Anaxarchus, on the contrary, thought it a great indecorum not to give that honour to the emperor whiles

[p] Arrian. l. 4. p. 85.

he lived, which he doubted not would by public consent be designed unto him after death. The like parasitical humour of the Thasians, a people of Greece, had travailed before of like idolatry, but brought forth only a memorable jest in that wise king Agesilaus[q], unto whom such proffered service smelled too rankly of base flattery. "My masters," quoth he, "hath your city the authority or art of making gods? If it have, I pray let us see what manner of gods you can make yourselves; and then perhaps I shall be content to be a god of your making."

2. The Platonical opinion of the soul's enlargement in her principal faculties after delivery from this walking prison, which she carries about with her, did secretly water and cherish the former seeds of error. For consequently unto this doctrine, men might think, that they who by their wit (especially) had done much good whiles they lived in the body, would be able to do much more after their dissolution. So Herod[r] thought John Baptist had brought more skill out of that world whereunto he had sent his soul before the natural time of her departure, than in his first life he had been capable of; for John in his lifetime wrought no miracles. Not only the commonly conceived dignity of the soul separated from the body, but the time or manner of its separation, did much instigate minds, otherwise that way bent, to gross superstition and idolatry. The magicians that lived at Athens when Plato[s] died, offered sacrifice to his soul, supposing him

q Vide Plutarchum.

r *Then king Herod heard of him; (for his name was spread abroad;) and said, John Baptist is risen again from the dead, and therefore great works are wrought by him.* Mark vi. 14. Vide Matth. xiv. 1, 2.

s Plato ipse ad senectutem se diligentia pertulit. Erat quidem corpus validum ac forte sortitus, et illi nomen latitudo pectoris fecerat: sed navigationes ac pericula multum detraxerunt viribus: parsimonia tamen, et eorum quæ aviditatem evocant modus,

to have been more than man, because he died on his birthday, having fulfilled the most perfect number in 929
his course of life, whose length was just fourscore years and one. But to this particular superstition, the causes mentioned in the eighteenth chapter had their joint concurrence. Quirinus and Romulus[t] (whether two or one) were in Tully's judgment rightly reputed gods after death, because good men whilst they lived, and (as it seems he thought) no way disenabled for doing good still, inasmuch as they enjoyed eternity in their souls. And Trismegist[u], catechising his son in the Egyptian art of making gods, tells him his grandfather, (who was the first inventor of physic,) being gone to heaven in soul, or (to use his phrase)

et diligens sui tutela, perduxit illum ad senectutem, multis prohibentibus causis. Nam hoc scis, puto, Platoni diligentiæ suæ beneficio contigisse, quod natali suo decessit, et annum unum atque octogesimum implevit, sine ulla deductione. Ideo Magi, qui forte Athenis erant, immolaverunt defuncto, amplioris fuisse sortis quam humanæ rati, quia consummasset perfectissimum numerum, quem novem novies multiplicata componunt. — Seneca Epistola 58.

[t] Hinc etiam Romulus, quem quidem eundem esse Quirinum putant: quorum cum remanerent animi atque æternitate fruerentur, dii rite sunt habiti; cum et optimi essent, et æterni.—Cicero lib. 2. de Natura Deorum, [c. 24.]

[u] Avus enim tuus, O Asclepi, medicinæ primus inventor, cui templum consecratum est in monte Libyæ circa littus crocodilorum, in quo ejus jacet mundanus homo, id est, corpus: reliquus enim, vel potius totus, si est homo totus in sensu vitæ, melior remeavit in cœlum, omnia etiam nunc hominibus adjumenta præstans infirmis numine nunc suo, quæ ante solebat medicinæ arte præbere. Ecce dixit mortuum coli pro Deo in eo loco ubi habebat sepulchrum: falsus ac fallens quod remeavit in cœlum.—Aug. de Civit. Dei ad Marcellinum, lib. 8. c. 26. Terrenis enim diis atque mundanis facile est irasci: utpote qui sint ab hominibus ex utraque natura facti atque compositi. Ex utraque natura dicit, ex anima et corpore: ut pro anima sit dæmon, pro corpore simulachrum. Unde contigit, inquit, ab Ægyptiis hæc sancta animalia nuncupari, colique per singulas civitates eorum animas, quorum sunt consecratæ viventes, ita ut eorum legibus incolantur, et eorum nominibus nuncupentur.—Augustinus ibidem.

according to his "better man," did still work all those cures by his secret power, which before he wrought by art: the only place where this divine soul would be spoken with, was the temple wherein his mundane man, or body, lay entombed; wherein likewise he had an idol or image, as every other Egyptian temple had, unto which, by exorcisms or invocation, they wedded either spirits or souls of men, after they had relinquished their own bodies. By this art were most Egyptian gods procreated, until error by God's just judgment did reciprocate, and idolatry ascend from beasts to men, from whom it first descended. For in process of time, the hurtful or profitable beasts which princes had consecrated, were adored as Trismegist's father had been, and the princes likewise, which had consecrated them, were co-adored in their images. The manner of this last error's intrusion, as Vives[u] hath well observed out of Diodorus, descended (in part at least) from the devices or emblems which princes bare in their shields or crests; some best liking dogs, others, lions, wolves, or cats; every one as sympathy of nature, fancy, or chance, misled them. The solemnity used at their consecration (that is, whilst they were taken for arms) being great, did taint the spectators' minds with superstitious fancies. And unto minds thus tainted, their lifeless pictures, being borne as crests or ensigns, were reputed for no bystanders, but for authors or coadjutors, whether of victorious success in wars, or of prosperous events in peace. The princes afterwards fell in love with the names of the beasts, and propagated the incestuous title unto cities. This speedy transportation of affectionate minds from curious ceremony or solemnity unto gross and formal idolatry, the

[u] In his Commentaries upon the forecited place of St. Augustine, litera q.

eternal Lawgiver did best know to be too natural unto man; and therefore sought to prevent the disease by evacuating the antecedent cause. To this purpose are those prohibitions of curious ceremony in mourning for friends deceased: *Ye shall not cut your flesh for the dead, nor make any print or mark upon you: I am the Lord*[x]. This remembrance, *I am the Lord*, intimates unto us, that these prints or marks were the badges of another master, who by those curious expressions of mournful sorrow for their dead sought to bring them unto a never dying sorrow of body and soul. The same prohibition is more particularly directed to the house of Aaron, with special restraint from using such ceremonies as in other families of Israel were not unlawful: unless for parents, brother or sister before marriage deceased, no son of Aaron might mourn. For want of such laws, to moderate and bridle this natural affection of lamenting the dead, both priest and people among the heathens ran headlong into this idolatry of invoking men deceased: *For* (as the wise man observes) *when a father mourned grievously for his son, that was taken away suddenly,* 930 *he made an image for him that was once dead*[y]. This at the first was but to solace grief by an imaginary or representative presence of him that was truly absent. [z]But that tender respect which parents bear unto their

[x] Levit. xix. 28.

[y] Wisdom xiv. 15.

[z] Cum Mamertini freti accolæ ad festos ludorum dies, quos Rhegini solenni ritu agitabant, pueros triginta quinque, cumque his chori magistrum, et tibicinem misissent, nave fracta, ad unum omnes periere. Mamertini istum puerorum interitum luxere, et cum alios illis honores habuere, tum statuam ex ære suam singulis posuere, cumque iis una chori magistro, et tibicini. Vetus inscriptio donum esse Mamertinorum indicat freti accolarum. Interjecto dein tempore, Hippias, qui inter Græcos sapientiæ laude claruit, elegis titulos earum statuarum fecit.—Pausan. lib. 5. pag. 337. If not the fathers, certainly the mothers

sick children (for whose relief or ease no cost can seem too great, no attendance, so it please, too curious) doth naturally enlarge itself after their death; and having a picture whereon to gaze, will hardly refrain to present it, in more ceremonious and solemn sort, with all those respects and services which were due to the party living, or like to die. So the same wise man couples solemn idolatry, as the immediate effect, to such curiosity or ceremony: *Now he worshippeth him as a god, and ordained to his servants ceremonies and sacrifices. Thus by process of time this wicked custom prevailed, and was kept as a law, and idols were*

of these children would solace themselves with such ejaculations, whilst they beheld their statues, as Andromache did: O mea sola mihi super Astyanactis imago; Sic oculos, sic ille manus, sic ora ferebat, Et nunc æquali tecum pubesceret ævo.—Virgil Æneid. iii. 489. Marc. Tullius, qui non tantum perfectus orator, sed etiam philosophus fuit; siquidem solus extitit Platonis imitator: in eo libro, quo seipsum de morte filiæ consolatus est, non dubitavit dicere, Deos, qui publice colerentur, homines fuisse. Quod ipsius testimonium, eo debet gravissimum judicari, quod et augurale habuit sacerdotium, et eosdem se colere venerarique testatur. Itaque intra paucos versiculos duas res nobis dedit. Nam dum imaginem filiæ eodem modo se consecraturum esse profiteretur, quo illi a veteribus sunt consecrati: et illos mortuos esse docuit, et originem vanæ superstitionis ostendit. Cum vero (inquit) et mares et fœminas complures ex hominibus in deorum numero esse videamus, et eorum in urbibus atque agris augustissima delubra veneremur; assentiamur eorum sapientiæ, quorum ingeniis, et inventis omnem vitam legibus, et institutis excultam, constitutamque habemus. Quod si ullum unquam animal consecrandum fuit, illud profecto fuit. Si Cadmi, aut Amphitryonis progenies, aut Tyndari in cœlum tollenda fama fuit; huic idem honos certe dicandus est; quod quidem faciam, teque omnium optimam, doctissimamque approbantibus Diis immortalibus ipsis in eorum cœtu locatam, ad opinionem omnium mortalium consecrabo. Fortasse dicat aliquis, præ nimio luctu delirasse Ciceronem. Atqui omnis illa oratio, et doctrina, et exemplis, et ipso loquendi genere perfecta, non ægri, sed constantis animi, ac judicii fuit, et hæc ipsa sententia nullum præfert indicium doloris. Neque enim puto illum tam varie, tam copiose, tam ornate, scribere potuisse, nisi luctum ejus, et ratio ipsa, et consolatio amicorum, et temporis longitudo mitigasset.—Lactantius, lib. 1. cap. 15.

worshipped by the commandment of tyrants[z]. The first degree of this temptation observed by him, every man (I am persuaded) may in some sort experience in himself. The multiplication of the practice by imitation and flattery is plentifully experienced in most heathen stories. But the original of the temptation was thus:

3. Impotent desires of still enjoying their companies to whom we have fastened our dearest affections will hardly take a denial by death. But as some, longing to be delivered of a well conceited argument, have set up their caps for respondents, and disputed with them as with live antagonists; so we go on still (as in a waking dream) to frame a [a]capacity in the dead of accepting our respect and love in greater measure, than without envy of others, or offence to them, it could have been tendered whilst they were living. Did not the Spirit of God awake us, the idolatry issuing from this spring would steal upon us like a deluge in a slumber. Many, who by their preeminency amongst men have affected to be reputed gods, have of other men's lords become such slaves to their own affection, as to worship their dead favourites with divine honour. So [b]Alexander, having testified his love to Hephæstion's corpse with such curious signs and ceremonies of mourning as God in his law had forbidden, seeks afterward to solace his grief by procuring mortmain from the oracle for his dead friend to hold greater honours than this great conqueror of the world could have bestowed upon him, though he had lived to have been his heir. To qualify him, by dispensation from Jupiter Ammon, for an heroic or

[z] Wisdom xiv. 15, 16.

[a] Vide Lactantium, l. 1. de falsa Religione, c. 15.

[b] Arrianus de Expedit. Alex. lib. 7. pag. 165. Vide Diodorum lib. 17.

half-god, and thereby to make him capable of sacrifice,
931 could not suffice without a temple, whose curiosity and state would (as the wise man observes) *thrust forward the multitude* to increase their superstition. The more beautiful the temples were, the better god would he seem to the multitude, easily allured, through the beauty of the work, *to take him now for a god, who a little before was honoured but as man*[c]. And good encouragement Cleomenes, the deputy or overseer of these edifices, had to see them most accurately finished[d], having a pardon for all his faults, disloyal practices, or public wrongs done by him to the Egyptian nation, upon condition there were no fault in the temples erected for Hephæstion's honour. If all did follow the pattern which Cleomenes in the first sacrifice would set them, few of the ancient gods were like to go before this new half-god, or heroic. The issue of Adrian's immoderate love unto his minion [e]Antinous whiles he lived, was after his death superstitious foppery, altogether as gross, unless perhaps it were tempered (as some think) with necromantical impiety. An oracle was erected to speak for him who could not now speak for himself, albeit oracles, I take it, at this

[c] Wisd. xiv. 17, 19.

[d] Arrianus loco citato.

[e] Hic Antinous quum in deliciis ejus fuisset, in Ægypto mortuus est, sive quod in Nilum ceciderit, ut Hadrianus scribit; sive quod immolatus, id quod verum est, fuerit. Nam quum Hadrianus maxime curiosus esset, ut supra dixi, tum vero divinationibus, utebatur et magicis artibus cujusvis gen. Itaque Antinoum, qui vel ob amorem ipsius, vel ob aliam causam voluntariam mortem obierat (nam Hadriano ad ea, quæ parabat, opus erat anima voluntaria) tanto honore affecit; ut urbem in eo loco, in quo ille obiisset, restitutam ex eo nominari voluerit; statuasque ei, vel potius simulachra in omni fere orbe terrarum collocaverit. Sidus etiam Antinoi ipse se videre dicebat, libenterque auscultabat eos qui dicerent vere ex Antinoi animo stellam quæ tum primum adparuisset, extitisse. — Dion. Cass. in hist. Rom. lib. 69. Hadrianus 15. pag. 797. ed. 1592.

time were dumb, but so much the fitter for a dead dog, as the name of God spelled backward would best befit him and others of his profession; his sepulchre was according to the Egyptian fashion; he had a whole city called by his name. And to establish an opinion of the [f]emperor's authority to create gods, a new star was either seen or feigned, as if the heavens by this apparition had ratified this earthy monarch's grant or charter. Perhaps some comet might at the same time be presented by the prince of the air, to delude the inhabitants of the earth.

4. But leaving these gross fooleries; that general fallacy, which opened the first gap to heathenish idolatry, had a peculiar efficacy in men honourably addicted to their deceased worthies. From conversion of the common notion, that divine nature was beneficial and good, every great benefactor was by the rude and ignorant adored as God. Now the warlike and valorous were by every nation held best deservers of the weal public; and fortitude, though (as the philosopher excepts against it) not the most laudable virtue in itself, was most honoured among the people, because most profitable to them. Hence the valorous, in lieu of their readiness to sacrifice their bodies for their native country, had [g]sacrifices, and other acknowledgments of honour divine, publicly assigned to them after death. The most curious and superstitious solemnity in this kind that comes to my present remembrance, was that festivity [h]annually celebrated every September by the citizens of Platæa, in honourable memory of

[f] Of this emperor's folly in this kind see Spartian, in Adrian. canibus sepulchra statuit.

[g] Elei heroibus etiam, et eorum uxoribus libant, tum iis qui passim in Elea terra, tum et illis, qui apud Ætolos in honore sunt.—Pausan. l. 5. p. 317.

[h] Vide Plutarchum in Aristide.

those worthies which there had laid down their lives for the liberty of Greece[i]. Amongst other conditions, upon which the oracle promised the Grecians victory over the Persians in that famous battle, a principal one was offering of sacrifice to the ancient heroics of Greece; one of whom, by name Androcrates, had his temple (near to that place) environed with a thick and shady grove; a fit nest for hatching that superstition, which had been conceived from other circumstances[k]. As they had vanquished the Persians in fight, so they scorned to be overcome by them in lavish ceremony towards their well-deserving dead. The pomp and magnificence of this festivity, continuated
932 from Aristides to Plutarch's time, did much exceed the sooner decayed solemnities decreed to [l]Cyrus by the Persians, the guardians of whose sepulchre notwithstanding had every day a sheep, every month an horse allowed them to sacrifice unto the soul of this chief founder of their great monarchy, the pattern of valour and royal government.

5. Thus this superstitious adoration of the dead, at the first [m]extorted from the fulness of respective affection, wanting right vent, did afterwards mightily overspread the world by imitation. In the later and more dissolute times of the Roman empire, it was annexed by flattery as an essential part of civil ceremony or

[i] The like vanity of Grecians and other people is recorded by Strabo, lib. 5; by Lucius Florus, lib. 4. cap. 12. Diomedi equum candidum Venetos, ut Numini, mactasse accepimus, et id honorificum duxisse: sicut Mysii, qui cum Marco Crasso conflixere, statim ante aciem immolato equo concepere votum sane quam barbarum, ut cæsorum ducum extis litarent.—Foratulus, lib. 1. [pag. 100.]

[k] Plutarch. ibid.

[l] Xenophon.

[m] Achilli non ara, sed inane monimentum est ex oraculo dedicatum. Ad illud Eleæ matronæ, primis ludorum initiis, die stato, inclinante jam in vesperum sole, inter cæteros, quos Achilli habent, honores, solenni ritu pectus plangunt.—Pausan. l. 6. pag. 389.

solemnity due to greatness, without any respect of goodness. And whereas the old world's custom had been only to deify the inventors of useful trades or authors of public good, later epicures or worthless favourites did adore beastly tyrants as great gods, because they fed them with some offals of public spoils, or authorized them to suck the blood of the needy[n]. Tully urgeth it as an argument of Romulus' praise, that he should merit the reputation of a god, in that civil and discreet age wherein he died: for so he accounts it in respect of former times, wherein rifeness of error and ignorance, mingled with rude affection, had brought down the price of the gods by too great plenty. But from Romulus (the fabulous occasion of whose consecration was an illustrious type of modern Romish forgery for canonizing saints) until the emperors, the Romans, I take it, consecrated no king or governor as gods, though great benefactors to their states. They only adored such gods as tradition had commended unto them, committing idolatry (to use St. Austin's words[o]) *errando potius, quam adulando;* "through error, rather than out of flattery." And as the same Father observes, the use of images, unknown unto their ancestors, did much increase this impious superstition in posterity, and, according to the wise man's observation, concurred as a concause or coadjutor to base flattery. The same observation is wittily expressed by Minucius Felix: "[p] As for those that were so far off, that men might not worship them pre-

[n] Vide Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 18. c. 24.

[o] Vide Aug. lib. 4. de Civitate Dei, c. 31. Vide Vivena in Comment.

[p] Similiter, ac vero erga Deos quoque, majores nostri improvidi, creduli, rudi simplicitate credidérunt: dum reges suos colunt religiose, dum defunctos eos desiderant in imaginibus videre: dum gestiu rum memorias in st nere; sacra facta, s rant assumpta cius Felix, §. x

sently, they did counterfeit the visage that was far off, and made a gorgeous image of a king whom they would honour, that they might by all means flatter him that was absent as though he had been present[q]." And partly by this device, and partly by that other of deceitful oracles, many fabulous crimes, which more civil and sober times had never charged their gods with, were by posterity (thus polluted) set forth in solemn shows or plays, in honour of these counterfeit or painted powers. Not the poet only, but the picture-maker also did help to set forward the superstition. The relations and representations of their gods' vicious lives might well embolden the most dissolute amongst the race of Cæsars to look for such divine honour after death, as flattery had proffered to them living. Much worse they could not be than their forefathers[r] or poets did make their gods; nor did they perhaps conceit any fitter cloak to cover their shame, than the public and solemn representation of their lewdness, who had already purchased the fame and reputation of celestial inhabitants. And hath not the tacit consent of our times almost established it as a law, that greatness may give authority unto villainy, and exempt filthiness from censure of impiety? What hath been committed by any whilst private men ceaseth (in their own opinion) to be theirs by their becoming public magistrates: for then they think not themselves to be the same men they were; and what is another man's sins to them? This is a root of idolatry which
933 did not determine with the destruction of heathenish

q Wisd. xiv. 17.

r Stultus Marcus Tullius, qui Caio Verri adulterium objecit: eadem enim Jupiter, quem colebat, admisit: qui Publio Claudio incestum sororis: at illi Optimo Maximo eadem fuit et soror et conjunx.—Lactant. l. 1. c. 10. Vide Aug. lib. 2. de Civit. Dei, cap. 9. et 10. Forcat. lib. 4. pag. 538.

groves or idols, nor with the dissolution of Romish abbeys; the very dregs of their impiety are yet incorporated in men's hearts, of whatsoever religion they be, that seek to be great before they be good. But of this and of other branches of transcendent idolatry, that is, of idolatry alike frequent and dangerous, throughout all ages, all nations, amongst the professors of all religions, elsewhere, by God's assistance. The next inquiry is, whether the idolatry of Rome-Christian (by profession) be fully equivalent to the idolatry of Rome-heathen.

SECTION IV.

Of the Identity or Equivalency of Superstition in Rome-heathen and Rome-Christian.

CHAP. XXII.

The Rome-Christian in latter Years sought rather to allay than to abrogate the Idolatry of Rome-heathen: that this Allay was the most commodious Policy which Satan could devise for venting his detected Poisons, utterly condemned by primitive Professors of Christianity.

1. HAD either the Romish church no orators at all, or heathen temples as many, as skilful and subtle, as it hath, to plead the lawfulness of their service; such as devoutly serve God in spirit and truth would in the one case make no question, in the other admit no dispute, whether were worse. The forms of their liturgies, represented to unpartial eyes without varnish or painting, would appear so like, that if the one were adjudged naught, the other could not be approved as good; or both equally set forth by art, if the one

seemed good and current, the other could not justly be suspected for naught or counterfeit. That the Romanists generally make better profession of the unity, the nature, and attributes of the true and only God, than most heathens did, argueth not their daily and solemn service of him to be better, but rather refers the issue of the controversy between them to the determination of another like case—Whether the settled and habitual carriage of a drunkard be worse in him that is daily drunk indeed, and hath his senses continually stupified, or in one that hath wit at will to conceive and speak well in matters speculative or remote from use, but wants will or grace to temper his carnal affections with sobriety of spirit, or season his conversation with civility.—Were ratsbane as simply and grossly ministered to men as it is to rats, few would take harm by it: and of popes and cardinals, more have used the helps of ratsbane than of rat-catchers to poison their enemies. It were a brutish simplicity to think the devil could not, and a preposterous charity to think he would not minister his receipts in a cunninger fashion since the promulgation of the gospel, than he did before, although the poison be still the same. To eat figs, or other more cordial food, with the infusion of
934 subtle and deadly poison, exempts not men's bodies from danger; much less can speculative orthodoxal opinions of the Godhead free men's souls from the poison of idolatrous practices wherewith they are mingled.

2. Taking it then as granted, (what without paradox we may maintain,) that the devil had as great a longing since Christ triumphed over him, as he had before, to work the bane of men's souls throughout Europe; he had been the arrantest fool that ever either undertook to contrive a dangerous and cunning

plot, or adventured to act any notorious mischief or difficult villainy, if he had solicited men to gross heathenism, or open profession of allegiance to those gods, in whose service they had known their fathers perish, the sudden downfall of whose idols they had seen miraculously accomplished. To have persuaded them hereto had been a more palpable importunity, than if a man in kindness should proffer a cup, wherein he had squeezed the poison of spiders, to one which had seen his mate fall down dead by taking the same potion. Now admitting a resolution in the great professor of destructive arts so to refine or sublimate his wonted poisons, as they might the more secretly mingle with the food of life; where can we suspect this policy to have been practised, if not in the Romish church; whose idolatrous rites and service of Satan in former ages have been so gross, that if we had seen the temptation, unacquainted with the success, we should certainly have thought the great tempter had mightily forgotten himself, or lost his wonted skill in going so palpably about his business; nor could any policy have so prevailed against God's church, unless it had first been surprised with a lethargy, or brought into a relapse of heathenish ignorance. To entice men unto heathenism since Romish rites and customs have been authorized or justified in solemn disputes, he had less reason than to have tempted the old world unto atheism, whiles there was no delight or pleasure which the flesh can long for, but had some feigned god for its patron. And what branch of implanted superstition can we imagine in any son of Adam, which may not sufficiently feed itself with some part or other of the Romish liturgy, or with some customs, by that church allowed, concerning the invocation of saints, the adoration of relics, or worship of images? By entertaining either

more orthodoxal conceits of the Godhead than the heathens had, or better persuasions of one Mediator between God and man than the modern Jews or Mahometans do, they give contentment to many carnal desires, especially covetousness, preposterous pride, and hypocrisy, which would be ready to mutineer if simple idolatry should be restored to its wonted sovereignty.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of the general Infirmities of Flesh and Blood, which did dispose divers ancient Professors of Christianity to take the Infection of Superstition. Of the particular Humours which did sharpen the Appetite of the modern Romish Church to hunger and thirst after the poisonous Dregs of Rome-heathen's Idolatry.

1. IN churches of Paul's planting and Apollos' watering, the seeds of sound and wholesome doctrine took root with greater facility than sundry heathenish
935 rites, whereto they had been so long accustomed, could be extirpated. That caveat—*But I would not have you to be ignorant, brethren, concerning them that sleep*, &c.—given to the Thessalonians[r], (otherwise most cheerful embracers and zealous professors of the gospel,) argueth some relics of such superstitious demeanour towards the dead, as they had practised whiles they lived without hope of a resurrection to a better life; unto which practices, perhaps, they were so much more prone than others, as they were naturally more kind and loving. Now if the first receipts of life, ministered by a physician so wise and well experienced as St. Paul, did not forthwith purify this good-natured people's affections from the corrupt humours of gentilism; it was no wonder, if other less skilful doctors, by seeking the speedy cure of this disease, did cast

[r] 1 Thess. iv. 13.

more untoward patients than these Thessalonians were, into a relapse of a contrary, more hereditary and natural to most heathen. Whether for preventing unseemly and immoderate mourning for the dead, or for encouraging the living to constancy in persecution, the solemn celebration of their funerals, and public blazoning of their blissful and glorious state after death, which had lived saints and died martyrs, was a method very effectual and compendious. Howbeit, in hearts not throughly purified and settled by grace, these panegyrical encomiasms did revive the seeds of superstitious respect to famous men deceased, as fast as they quelled the relics of hopeless fear, or abated natural inclinations unto immoderate mourning. And happily that point of truth, wherewith the Romanist seeks to condite or sweeten the poisonous fruit of his idolatrous and superstitious speculations, might, in part, occasion or embolden the ancients to scatter some seeds of them, before they had experience unto what degree of malignancy they might grow, when they grew ripe. When the first reformers of religion demanded a difference between heathenish adoration of inferior gods, and popish worshipping of saints, the usual and almost only answer was, that the heathens adored naughty and wicked men, either altogether unworthy of any, or worthy of disgraceful memory after death; whereas the church did worship such as deserved as much respect as men are capable of; men, to whom whoso omitted performance of sacred respect or religious worship did thereby commit most grievous sacrilege.

2. To outstrip our adversaries in their own policies, or to use means abused by others to a better end, is a resolution so plausible to worldly wisdom, (which of

all other fruits of the flesh is for the most part the hardliest and last renounced,) that almost no sect or profession in any age but in the issue mightily overreached or entangled themselves by too much seeking to circumvent or go beyond others. The known success of worldly policy in nursing martial valour and resolute contempt of life, by decreeing divine honour to their heroics after death, did quickly set over the Christian world, being almost outwearied with continual opposition of gentilism, to foster and cherish spiritual courage by the like means. The practice whereof, notwithstanding, (as do all like attempts by common course of nature,) did continually, though insensibly, grow more dangerous in the process. This original of superstitious performances towards the dead hath been set down[s] before, and is particularly prosecuted by Chemnitius[t], to whose labours I refer the reader.

3. Again, the sweet comfort which some ancients of blessed memory took in the consort of mutual prayers whiles they lived together, made them desirous that
936 the like offices might be continued after their decease. Hence some in their lifetimes, if my memory fail me not, did thus contract, that such of them as were first called into the presence of God should solicit the others' deliverance from the world and flesh, and prosecute those suits by personal appearance in the court of heaven, which they had jointly given up in prayers and secret wishes of heart, whiles they were absent each from other here on earth. To be persuaded that such as had known our minds, and been acquainted

[s] Chap. 20, 21. sect. 3.

[t] Chemnit. in Exam. Concil. Trident. session. 9. et ult. *de Invo. Sanct.*

with our hours of devotion whiles we had civil commerce together, might out of this memory after their dissolution take notice of our supplications, and solicit our cause with greater fervency than we can, is not so gross in the speculative assertion as dangerous in the practical consequent. But if magical feats can put on colourable pretences, and [u]magicians make fair shows unto the simple of imitating God's saints in their actions, what marvel if Romish idolatry, having in latter years found more learned patrons than any unlawful profession ever did, do plead its warrant from speculations very plausible to flesh and blood, or from the example of some ancients, the prejudicial opinions of whose venerable authority and deserved esteem in other points may, with many, prevent the examination of any reasons which latter ages can bring to impeach their imperfections in this? Yet experiments in other cases, approved by all, manifest the indefinite truth of this observation[x]: that such practices as can no way blemish the otherwise deserved fame of their first practitioners, usually bring forth reproach and shame to their unseasonable or ill qualified imitators. Now the pardonable oversight or doubtful speculations of some ancients have been two ways much malignified by latter Romanists: first, by incorporating the superfluity of their rhetorical inventions or ejaculations of swelling affections in panegyrical passages, into the body of their divine service; secondly, by making such fair garlands as antiquity had woven for holy saints and true martyrs, collars (as a [y]French knight, in a case not much unlike, said)

[u] See chap. 19.

[x] Vide Vincent. Lirinen. Absolvuntur Magistri, condemnantur Discipuli. §. 6.

[y] Carolus Tiercellinus Rupimanius antiqui moris eques mordaci dicterio indignabundus sæpius dixit, torquem conchylia-

for every beast, or chains for every "[z] dead dog's neck" which had brought gain unto their sanctuary. Touching the former abuse—the incorporating of rhetorical expressions of the ancients' affection towards deceased worthies into the body of their divine service—[a] Bellarmine is not ashamed to apologize for the solemn form of their public authorized liturgy, by the passionate ejaculation of Nazianzen his poetical wit in his panegyrical oration for St. Cyprian, and for his kind acquaintance whiles he lived with Basil the Great. It is enough, as this apologizing orator thinks, to acquit their service from superstition, and themselves from irreligion, that this Father, who spake as they do, was one of the wisest bishops antiquity could boast of. As in granting him to be as wise as any other, we should perhaps wrong but a few or none of the ancient bishops or learned Fathers; so we should much wrong Nazianzen himself, if we took these passages, on which Bellarmine groundeth his apology, for any special arguments of his wisdom and gravity. Howbeit Nazianzen might, without prejudice to his deserved esteem for wisdom and gravity, say much, and for the manner not unfitly, of Cyprian and Basil, which was no way fitting for latter Roman bishops to say of their deceased popes, or for the popes whilst they lived to speak of their deceased bishops. But such a sway hath corrupt custom got over the whole

tum, postquam indignis promiscue communicari cepisset, noniam esse fortium virorum insigne sed omnium bestiarum collare.—Thuan. l. 23.

[z] Hinc confictio prophetiarum, hinc miraculorum admonitio, hinc etiam adoratio damnatorum hominum in populis testis est mihi legenda, immo de adoratione canis mortui visum est in Vienna.—Gerson Tractat. 8. super Magnificat. partit. 3. de Custodia Angelorum, p. 852. ed. 1606.

[a] Bellarmin. de Sanct. Beatitud. lib. 1. cap. 19.

Christian world, that look what honour hath been voluntarily done to men in office as due unto their personal worth, their successors will take denial of the 937
like or greater as a disparagement to their places; albeit their personal unworthiness be able to disgrace the places wherein they have lived, and all the dignities that can be heaped upon them. Upon this carnal humour did the mystery of iniquity begin first to work. The choicest respect or reverence which had been manifested towards the best of God's saints or martyrs, either privately out of the usual solecisms of affectionate acquaintance, (always ready to entertain men lately deceased with such loving remembrances as they had tendered them in presence,) or in public and anniversary solemnities for others' encouragement unto constancy in the faith, were afterwards taken up as a civil compliment of their funeral rites, or enjoined as a perpetual honour to their birthdays, whom the pope, either of his own free motion, or at the request of secular princes or some favourites, would have graced with famous memory. [b]Rome-Christian hath been in this kind more lavish than Rome-heathen. And as in great cities it is a disparagement to any corporation or company to have had few or no majors or chief magistrates of their trade; so in process of time it became matter of imputation unto some religious orders, that they had not so many canonized saints as their opposites (less observant of their founders' less strict rules) could brag of. For want

[b] The true reason why the order of the Carthusians have had so few saints: whereas the order of St. Bennet (as may appear by a begging brief sent some few years ago out of Spain here into England by the provincial or general of that order) doth brag of fifty thousand saints, all Bennet's disciples: the number is more by ten thousand than we read sealed of any tribe of Israel.

of such stars to adorn their sphere, the order of the Carthusians[c], otherwise famous for austerity of life, was suspected not to be celestial. The fault notwithstanding was not in the Carthusians or their religion, unless a fault it were not to seek this honour at the pope's hands, who did grant it against their wills to one of their order and our countryman at the king of England's suit. And lest any part of heathenish superstition that had been practised in the Roman monarchy might be left unparalleled by like practices of the Romish hierarchy, as the deification of Antinous[d] was countenanced with feigned relations of a new star's appearance, and other like ethnicisms usually graced by oracles; so were revelations[e] pretended in the papacy to credit their sanctifications,

[c] Hæc sub brevitate contra eos qui impugnant ordinem Carthusiensium quia non fiant in eis miracula, immo nec vellent, potius vero facientes occultarent, sicut sæpius repertum est. Quod autem similiter dicitur, quod nec habeant canonizatum, nisi unum scilicet S. Hugonem, Lincolniensem episcopum; respondeo quod nec idem ex eorum voluntate, sed regis Angliæ et suorum instantia est canonizatus, quanquam sanctissimæ fuit vitæ, magnis miraculis claruerit et procurator Carthusiæ magnæ professusque, extiterit.—Gerson de abstinentia Carthusianorum, sive contra impugnantes ordinem Carthusiensium, pag. 514.

[d] See chap. 21. parag. 3.

[e] Qua hora B. Virgo (Catharina) animam reddidit, Thomas Penna Protonotarius apostolicus vidit cœlos apertos, eamque sublime ascendentem inter choros angelorum. Eandem pia vidua Semia triplici coronæ insignitam, vidit a Christo sponso in throno sedente suscipi. D. Catharinæ Senensis Selectiora miracula formis Æneis expressa. Antverpiæ apud Philippum Gallæum, 1603. To prepare the credulous reader's heart the better to believe this vision of St. Catharine's ascension into heaven, opening itself to receive her, and her coronation with a triple crown, another relation perhaps was premised by the same author, the effect whereof is, that having overthrown the devil after a grievous conflict, she resigned her soul unto God in the same year of her age wherein our Saviour Christ (unto whom the blessed Virgin, as this legend relates, had espoused her with a ring) did resign his soul into his Father's hands. See section 5th, chap. 41.

which stood in need of some divine testimony to acquit their sanctity from suspicion.

4. To give the blessed Virgin a title unto far greater honour than any saint or other creature by their doctrine is capable of, it hath been maintained that she was conceived without original sin. And wanting all warrant of scripture or primitive antiquity for this conceit, they support it by revelations, which must be believed as well as any scripture, if the pope allow them. By whose approbation likewise every private man's relation of miracles wrought by any suitor for a saintship becomes more authentic than Apollo's oracles, by whose authority Hercules and other heroics were enjoined to be adored as gods amongst the heathen.

5. It was an [f]ingenuous and wise observation of reverend Gerson, "that famous miracles were to be 938
suspected for lying wonders, unless they had some special use or extraordinary end." Now the only use or just occasion we can observe of popish miracles in later times hath been, either to purchase the reputations of saints to such as wrought them whiles they lived, or to gain a current title to canonization after their deaths. And the true reason, in my opinion, why the Carthusians, of all other religious orders, wrought not many miracles, was because they had no desire to be saints of the pope's making. If they had sought to

[f] Probatio autem sanctitatis per miracula tamen plurimum est suspecta, quia (ut supra dictum est) malis sunt communia, et multa non Christianæ, sed magicæ artis ostentamenta sunt, quæ a simplicibus quasi sanctitatis miracula acceptantur. —Gerson, ibid. Deinde notandum quod in legis tempore per Moysen fiebant signa ingentia, quibus magi quidam per incantationes fecerunt similia, &c.—Ibid. Hæc autem antiqua miracula (per Deum scilicet facta) quotidie in mysterio renovantur in ecclesia, quæ etiam tanto majora sunt, quanto non corporalia sed spiritualia.—Ibid.

be graced by his holiness with public sanctity, they must have graced themselves and their order with a fame of wonders; otherwise, that exception which was brought against Thomas of Aquine would have taken place against them: for even this angelical doctor's title to canonization was impeached by some, because [g] he had wrought no miracles; until his holiness cleared the doubt by a more benign interpretation than Apollo's oracle could have given: *Tot fecit miracula, quot quæstiones determinavit;* "Look how many doubts he hath determined, and he hath wrought so many miracles." But by this reason he should have placed him above most saints, amongst the angels: for it is scarce credible that any saint hath wrought half so many miracles as are the doubts which this doctor after his fashion hath determined, appositely enough for the Romish hierarchy. And hath not the pope good reason to make the church militant adore their souls as gods in heaven, which have made his holiness more than a saint, a very god on earth? But because they deny that the church makes gods of such as the pope makes saints, we are in the next place to discuss whether invocation of saints, as it is publicly maintained by them, be not an ascription of that honour to the creature which is only due to the Creator.

g Unde cum in canonizatione sancti Thomæ de Aquino opponeretur, quod non fecerat miracula in vita, vel non multa, dictum fuit per papam, non esse curandum.—Gerson ibid. p. 512. Vide plura Gerson. tractat. octavo super Magnificat, partitione tertia de Custodia Angelica.

CHAP. XXIV.

In what Sense the Romanists deny or grant that Saints are to be invocated. Whether the Saints by their Doctrine be mediate or immediate Intercessors between God and Man. That they neither can conceal, nor will they express the full Meaning of their Practice.

1. BELLARMINE, lib. 1. *de Sanctorum Beatitudine*, cap. 16. §. 3, accounts the former imputation for one of Calvin's malicious slanders: *Quis enim Deo dicere auderet, Sancte Deus, ora pro nobis?* "We must not think they are so foolishly impious, as to say, Holy God, pray for us." Nor did Calvin charge them with pulling down God as low in every respect as the saints; but for exalting the saints in sundry cases into the throne of God, howsoever they salute them by an inferior style. Nor will it follow that the heathens did not worship many gods, because they did not equalize all with Jupiter, or use the same form of appellation unto him and to their demi-gods or heroics. Or admitting the Romanists make no saints equal to God the Father, or to any person in the Trinity, considered according to his deity alone; is it no sacrilege to invest them with Christ's royal titles or prerogatives, as he is our High Priest and Mediator? It will upon examination prove no slander, but a just accusation, to say they make the saints both sharers with Christ in his office of mediation, and with the glorious Trinity in acts essential to the Deity. But let us first hear in what sense they themselves grant or deny saints may be prayed unto or otherwise adored, and then examine whether their answers to our arguments can stand 939
with the form of their liturgy, or fit the main point in question betwixt us.

2. Some, more ancient than Epiphanius, (for he re-

futeth their heresy,) held the Virgin Mary was to be prayed unto after the same manner we pray to God. Between this excessive honour thus ascribed unto the chief of saints, and the other extreme, (as they make it,) consisting in defect or denial of invocation of any saints, Bellarmine labours to find out a mean, which he comprehends in these propositions following: *Non licet a sanctis petere ut nobis tanquam authores divinorum beneficiorum gloriam vel gratiam aliaque ad beatitudinem media concedant.*—Bellarmin. de Sanctorum Beatitud. lib. 1. cap. 17. "It is not lawful to request the saints, that they as authors of divine benefits, would grant unto us grace or glory, or other means available to the attainment of felicity." His second proposition is, *Sancti non sunt immediati intercessores nostri apud Deum; sed quicquid a Deo nobis impetrant, per Christum impetrant.*—Ibidem. "The saints are not our immediate intercessors with God; but whatsoever they obtain of God for us, they obtain it through Christ." I know not whether out of cunning or incogitancy he hath expressed himself (or rather left their full meaning unexpressed) in these terms [g], *per Christum,* not adding withal *propter Christum.* In the declaration, he commends three parties to our consideration when we pray to God: 1. the person of whom we crave every good gift; 2. him through whose merits we request they may be given us; 3. the party which craves them. Saints, by his doctrine, cannot supply the first or second, but the third and last place. The only meaning, whereto

[g] Nota, tres personas posse considerari, quando nos Deum oramus; unam ipsius Dei, a quo petimus beneficia; alteram Christi, per cujus meritum ea cupimus nobis dari; tertiam ejus, qui petit beneficia per Christum. Ex his tribus personis non potest prima sanctis tribui, ut jam probavimus; sed solum tertia.—Bellar. c. 17. §. 2. de Beat. Sancto.

upon better examination he will stand, is this, that saints cannot be substituted in the stead of God the Father, or of Christ, as he is the principal Mediator or primary Intercessor. But to say that we may not request favour of God the Father, *propter merita sanctorum*, "for merits of saints," or request saints to interpose their merits with Christ's, for more sure or speedy expedition, can neither stand with the profession or practice of the Romish church. Bellarmine, well urged, will quickly be enforced to deny the conclusion which he thus gathers from the premised propositions. "[h] We pray," saith he, "to the saints only to this end, that they would vouchsafe to do what we do, because they can do it better and more effectually than we can; at least they and we together may do it better than we alone." And again: "We may request nothing of the saints besides their intercession with God, that Christ's merits may be applied to us, and that through Christ we may attain grace and glory." For praying thus far to saints, that speech of St. Bernard warranteth them: *Opus est mediatore ad Mediatorem, nec alter nobis utilior quam Maria;* "We have need of a mediator to our Mediator, and none more fit than Mary." Hence they learn that Christ only is the immediate Intercessor, who is heard for his own sake; the saints are only mediate intercessors, and can obtain nothing which they ask without Christ's mediation. Thus much is included in the form of their prayers upon saints' days, which are all conceived in this tenor: Grant us these or these benefits at the intercession of such or such saints[i].

[h] Itaque sanctos invocamus ad hoc solum, ut faciant id, quod nos facimus, quia melius et efficacius ipsi facere possunt, quam nos, melius illi et nos simul quam nos soli. Probatur jam conclusio; solus Christus est, qui mundum reconciliavit Deo, et qui meruit nobis gloriam et gratiam, et omnia necessaria ad salutem.—Bellarm. ibid.

[i] Bellarminus ibid.

3. The first part of his second proposition (that saints are not immediate intercessors for us with God) he proves by places of scripture so pregnant, that some of them directly disprove all mediate or secondary intercessors or mediators; as, Coloss. i. *It pleased God that in him should all fulness dwell.* If all fulness, the fulness of mediation or intercession: and absolute fulness excludes all consort. 1 Tim. ii. 5. *As there is but one God, so there is but one Mediator between God and man;*
940 no secondary God, no secondary mediator. 1 John ii., *He is the propitiation for our sins:* the absolute fulness of propitiation. And John x. he enstyleth himself the *door* and *way*, such a door and such a way, *as no man may come unto the Father but by him.* This restriction, in our divinity, makes him the only door and the only way: not so in theirs; for we must pass through other doors, that we may come to this only immediate door; that is, he is the only door whereby the saints are admitted into God's presence, but saints are necessary doors for our admission unto him; *Opus est mediatore ad Mediatorem.* Were this divinity, which they borrow from St. Bernard, true, they must wrong Aristotle and Priscian in calling him *immediatus Intercessor aut Mediator*, and are bound to right them, by this or the like alteration of his title: He is *unicus ultimus aut finalis Mediator;* He is the "only final or last Mediator." For a mediator is not of one; whence to be an immediate mediator, essentially includes an immediate reference to two parties. Christ is no mediator but between God and man; and between them he is no immediate mediator, unless men have as immediate access to him as he hath to God the Father. As God, he best knows the nature and quality of every offence against the Deity, unto what sentence every offender is by justice liable, and how far capable of mercy; as man, he

knows the infirmities of men, not by hearsay or information, but by experience; and is ready to solicit their absolution from that doom, whose bitterness is best known unto him, not at others' request or instigation, but out of that exact sympathy which he had with all that truly mourned, or felt the heaviness of their burden. Whilst he was only the Son of God, the execution of deserved vengeance was deferred by his intercession. Nor did he assume our nature and substance that his person might be more favourable, or that his access to God the Father might be more free and immediate, but that we might approach unto him with greater boldness and firmer assurance of immediate audience, than before we could. He exposed our flesh, made his own, to greater sorrows and indignities than any man in this life can have experience of; to the end he might be a more compassionate Intercessor for us to his Father than any man or angel can be unto him. We need the consort of their sighs and groans which are oppressed with the same burden of mortality here on earth, that our joint prayers may pierce the heavens: but these once presented to his ears need no solicitors to beat them into his heart. Surely if the intercession of saints had been needful at any time, most needful it was before Christ's incarnation or passion; when by the Romanists' confession it was not in use. The Son of God was sole Mediator then.

4. As the impiety of their practices doth grieve my spirit, so the dissonancy of their doctrine doth as it were grate and torture my understanding, while I contemplate their apologies. Sometimes they bear us in hand that God is a great King, whose presence poor wretched sinners may not approach, witho

means first made to his domestic servants. The conceit itself is grossly heathenish, and comes to be so censured in the next discourse[1]. Now seeing they pretend the fashion of preferring petitions to earthly princes, to warrant the form of their supplications to the Lord of heaven and earth, let us see how well the pattern doth fit their practice. Admitting the imitation were lawful, how could it justify their going to God immediately with these or the like petitions: Lord, I beseech thee hear the intercession of this or that saint for me through Jesus Christ our Lord? What fitter interrogatories can I
941 propose unto these sacrilegious supplicants than Malachi hath unto the like delinquents in his time? *If I be your Lord and King*, (as you enstyle me,) *where is my fear? where is my honour? saith the Lord of hosts to you, priests, that despised my name?* And yet, being challenged of disloyalty, they scornfully demand, *Wherein have we despised thy name? Ye bring polluted offerings into my sanctuary; and yet ye say, Wherein have we polluted thy sanctuary? If ye offer such blind devotions as these, is it not evil? Offer them now to thy governor*, to thy prince or sovereign; *will he be pleased with thee, or accept thy person? saith the Lord of hosts.* He would either be thought to mock the king, and come within just censure of disloyalty, or else be mocked out of his skin by courtiers, that durst exhibit a petition in this form unto his majesty: "Vouchsafe, I beseech you, to pardon my offences against your highness, and admit me into good place, at the intercession of your chancellor, treasurer, chamberlain or controller, in honour of this

[1] Sect. 5. chap. 42. parag. 4.

his birthday, for the prince's sake your son my good lord and master:" yet if we change only the persons' names, this petition (which could become none but the prince's fool to utter) differs no more from the form of popish prayers upon saints' days than the words of matrimony uttered by John and Mary do from themselves whilst uttered by Nicolas and Margaret. The former respectless absurdity would be much aggravated, if the courtier's birthday, whom the petitioner would have graced with the grant of his petition, should fall upon the king's coronation day, or when the prince were married. Of no less solemnity with the Romanist is the feast of the cross's invention, it is Christ's coronation or espousals, and yet withal the birthday of two or three obscure saints, whom they request God to glorify with their own deliverance from all perils and dangers that can betide them, through Christ their Lord. This last clause must come in at the end of every prayer, to no more use than the mention of a certain sum of money doth in feoffments or deeds of trust, only *pro forma. Præsta quæsumus omnipotens Deus, ut qui sanctorum tuorum Alexandri, Eventii, Theodoli atque Juvenalis natalitia colimus, a cunctis malis imminentibus, eorum intercessionibus liberemur per Dominum, &c.*[m] "Grant, we beseech thee, Almighty God, that we which adore the nativity of the saints, of Alexander, Event, Theod. and Juvenal, may by their intercession be delivered from all evils that hang over us, through Jesus Christ our Lord." To be delivered from evils at or by the intercession of such saints, is as much, in ordinary construction, as to be delivered from them for their merits. And this is to share or divide the mediation of Christ betwixt him and such saints, by even

[m] In festo inventionis sanctæ crucis.

portions. For of the two principal parts of Christ's mediatorship, which the ancient and orthodoxal church did exactly distinguish in the form of their prayers, the first is, our hope or belief to be heard *propter Christum*, "for Christ's sake," for whose sake alone God grants whatsoever he grants unto mankind; the second is, our belief or acknowledgment that those blessings which God doth grant for Christ's sake are not conveyed or imparted unto us, but through Christ, or by Christ: he is not only our orator to God, but God's hand to us. Now the Romish church in their solemn liturgy expressly gives the first part of this mediation unto saints, and leaves the latter only unto Christ. The hymn sung or said unto the cross upon the same day, conceived in the character of magic spells, falls under the same censure, that worshipping of saints' images, or worshipping God in every visible creature, doth, of which, chap. 35, 36. The hymn is thus; *O crux splendidior cunctis astris, mundo celebris, hominibus multum amabilis, sanctior uni-*
942 *versis, quæ sola fuisti digna portare talentum mundi, dulcia ferens pondera: salva præsentem catervam in tuis hodie laudibus congregatam, halleluia, ibidem.* "O cross, more splendent than all the stars, famous throughout the world, most amiable amongst men, more holy than the universe, (or all things besides,) which alone wast worthy to carry the talent (or price) of the world, save this present congregation this day assembled to set forth thy praises. Praise the Lord, praise the Lord." They that can be thus familiar with God, as to indent with him at whose intercession their requests should be granted, do they in modesty need mediators unto Christ?

5. Were there any hope of full or direct satisfaction, I would press this demand to any learned papist:

what order those three parties whom Bellarmine makes joint commissioners in the audience of prayers observe in prayers of this form; whether they expect that God the Father should first take their petitions and acquaint Christ with them, and Christ the saints, or that the saints should take them immediately and deliver them unto Christ, that he may acquaint his Father with them? They grant the saints can hear no prayers immediately from our mouths, much less discern their conception in our hearts; they understand them only by seeing God; and for this reason haply prayers of this form are in the first place directed to God the Father, or to the Trinity. Is God then, as the book wherein they are written, altogether senseless of their meaning, until the saints, whose intercession they crave, read them unto him? or hearing them, is he unwilling to grant them, until the saints have expounded them? But what is Christ's office in the mean time? to request his Father that he would hear the saints for his sake? or contrariwise, doth he and the saints mediate for sinful men both together, as joint advocates? or doth he first open the case, and leave the saints to prosecute it? or do the saints only sue in his name that God would communicate his merits unto them; as sometimes in earthly courts one of principal note bears the name, whilst another manageth the business? The supplicant should, methinks, in good manners frame some petition to Christ, or ask his leave to use his name in such suits as they would have managed by this or that particular saint, in honour of his birthday.

6. Perhaps this form of prayer was first invented by such (for such in the [n]Romish church there are and anciently have been) as deny Christ any kind

[n] Vide Riberam in 7. ad Hebræ, num. 72.

of intercession with his Father, besides the representation of his humanity. And men's hearts once wrought to this persuasion would forthwith take the impression of artificial begging as the best form of tendering their devout supplications unto God. Now amongst beggars commonly one shews his maimed limbs, or other rueful spectacle, to move pity; and others read the lecture upon them. And thus do these sacrilegious supplicants upon great festivals make Christ and their peculiar saints such sharers in the office of intercession, as the cripple and the gabbler are in men's benevolences at fairs or markets: the one must move God's eyes, and the other fill his ears.

7. If it shall please the reader to compare Bellarmine's pretended detection of fraudulent dealing in our writers (chap. 16.) with the declaration of his second proposition hitherto discussed, he will easily assent unto me, that the only trick this cunning sophister had to save his mother's credit and her son's, was to call reformed churches whores first, and their children liars. For who but the impudent son of an adulterous mother, or one accustomed to shuffle beyond the compass of a professed liar's art memorative, could have avouched
943 what in the declaration of this second proposition he doth, *Sanctos invocamus ad hoc solum*, "We pray to saints only to the end they may do what we do," that is, as he expounds himself afterwards, "that Christ's merits might by intercession of saints be applied unto us." This (were this the only end of praying to them) were in effect to request them to stoop a little below their rank, and become joint supplicants with us for relief of our necessities and advancement of God's glory. Is it then all one to request them to join with us in the honour and service of God for our good, and to intend their honour and service

in the prayers and requests which we make, either to them or to God, that he would accept their intercession for us? Now it is but one part of the question between the churches Romish and reformed, Whether it be lawful to request saints deceased to join in prayer with us, as they did, or might have been lawfully requested to have done, whilst they lived? the other part (whereto Bellarmine should have framed his answer) is, Whether it be not formal idolatry to offer up our devotions to saints by way of honour, or to intend a religious worship or service of them in those prayers which we offer up to God in his sanctuary? It is so constantly agreed upon by all professed members of the Romish church, (and was so expressly set down by Bellarmine himself, as nothing but extreme necessity of playing tricks could have shuffled it out of his memory,) that of the seven parts of religious worship due to canonized saints, the second is invocation in public liturgies, the fourth, sacrifices of prayer and thanksgiving, which they offer up to God in honour of such saints: and of this latter kind are the prayers before mentioned, usual upon every saint's day. And [o] Bellarmine thus begun the chapter next save one before that wherein his former declaration is contained; *Demonstravimus sanctos esse colendos, sed quia peculiaris difficultas est de cultu invocationis,* &c.: "We have already demonstrated that the saints are to be worshipped: but because the peculiar difficulty is concerning the worship of invocation," &c.

8. This indeed is the principal point in question, upon whose denial they indite us of sacrilege against

[o] Bellarm. de Beatitud. Sanct. l. 1. cap. 15. init.

the saints, as we do them of flat idolatry, or robbing God of his honour, for avouching the affirmative by their practice. *Cultus invocationis*, "the worship of invocation," we know well, is somewhat more than invocation; and to invocate saints, in ordinary language, is more than only to request their prayers; albeit to request these after their death is but a relic of ethnic foolery, a superstitious impiety in professed Christians. What then? doth that glory wherewith God arrays his saints, utterly strip them of all honour and respect from men? Is the felicity which they have gotten *bonum magis laudabile, quam honorabile?* "Are they worthy of praise and not of honour?" Their memory is honourable, but their persons not to be honoured by us. Their absence makes them uncapable of such petitions as we may (without danger) make unto others less holy, with whom we have not only mystical communion, but civil commerce. And civil worship, without the support of civil commercement is but a fantastic groundless ceremony, and an apish observance. From these considerations did Calvin justly deny all civil worship, or signification of such respect to saints deceased as was due unto them whilst they lived, and utterly disclaimed all religious worship either of them or of other creatures dead or living. And because the Jesuits delude the ignorant or unobservant by tricks of that art wherein they are best seen, to unfold these terms, with whose equivocal use they play fast and loose, will be no loss of time, nor interruption of discourse.

CHAP. XXV. 944

What Worship is. How it is divided into civil and religious. In what Sense it is to be granted or denied, that religious Worship is due to Saints. That the Romish Church doth in her Practice exhibit another Sort of religious Worship unto Saints than her Advocates pretend in their Disputations.

1. THAT some worship or honour more than civil is due to saints, whether living with us or departed, is the chief hold whereat our adversaries in this controversy aim; whose cunning surprisal, as they presume, would make them entire conquerors without further conflict. Worship or adoration, of what kind soever, hath (as both acknowledge) two degrees or parts[p]: 1. The internal affection or serviceable submission, which is as the soul or life; 2. the external note or sign of such submission (as bowing, kneeling, supplication); these are the body or material part of worship or honour. The internal submissive affection (without which the external sign or gesture would be interpreted but a mockery) is due only unto intellectual natures, and must be differenced by the diversity of their excellencies. Now intellectual excellency is either communicative and finite, or infinite and incommunicative. Such only is the excellency of the divine Majesty, whereunto they appropriate a correspondent worship or service, which they enstamp *cultus latriæ:* nor do we disprove it as counterfeit, though lately coined, if we respect the express difference it bears for its distinction from all other kinds of worship. Thus much only might be added for explication: We are bound, not only λατρεύειν Θεῷ, to honour God infinitely

p Bellarm. lib. 1. de Beatitud. Sanct. c. 12.

more than man, for his infinite excellency, but δουλεύειν, to do him service, and bear allegiance to him infinitely more absolute than we owe to princes, in that he is our Lord, Creator, and Redeemer. Though both be alike due, yet service is more peculiar to him than honour. For inasmuch as we bear his image, we are in some sort partakers of his intellectual excellency, but altogether uncapable of its infinity: but the glorious prerogative of creation or redemption is altogether incommunicable. In these works he admits no instrumental service; much less can he brook a partner in the glory redounding from them.

2. Intellectual excellency communicated to his creatures, consists, 1. in natural, moral, or civil endowments; as, in wisdom, valour, magnanimity, nobility of birth, eminency of places, or authority: 2. in gifts and graces of the Spirit; as sanctity of life, heavenly wisdom, and favour with God. Unto the former, which we may term temporal excellency, they assign civil respect or moral worship; unto spiritual excellency, a peculiar respect or reverence of a middle rank, inferior to *latria*, or the worship which they give to God, superior to that wherewith they honour kings or princes, secular nobles, or men in authority. And this, for distinction sake, they call *cultus duliæ*, a worship of service. Howbeit[q], one of their principal advocates for customary traditions will not in this case allow the pretended custom of the schools to prescribe against
945 the evidence of the natural and grammatical use of this word in all good writers: Δουλεύειν, saith Peresius, "is *to serve*, and we are not the saints' servants, but their fellowservants." And Bellarmine[r] should either have

[q] Peresius part. 3. de Tradit. considerat. 7.

[r] Bellarm. de Sanct. Beatitud. lib. 1. cap. 12.

spared to censure this his good friend for scrupulosity, or else have given a better resolution of his doubt than he hath done, by alleging only one place in scripture, wherein δουλεία is taken, not for slavery or servitude, but for honorary subjection. As when the apostle saith, *Use not your liberty as an occasion to the flesh, but by love serve one another*, Gal. v. 13, διὰ τῆς ἀγάπης δουλεύετε ἀλλήλοις. Indeed, to serve one another by course, is no act of servility; but a twisting of brotherly love, or chain of good fellowship: but if the bond of service be legal and not mutual, he that is bound to serve is properly a servant, and he that hath right to demand service of another is truly a master: such is the case between the saints and us, by our adversaries' doctrine. We are bound in conscience to serve and worship them *cultu* δουλείας; so are not they (I hope) bound to serve us. Bellarmine's instance makes more for Peresius than against him. But seeing their tongues are their own, and no man may control them in the use of words, let them enjoy their dialect; we will take their meaning, and follow the matter. The nature and quality of this *cultus* δουλείας they express (in opposition to us) by *religious worship.*

3. Partly under the multiplicity of importances which these terms involve, partly under a colour of real distinction between the habits or fountains whence these several kinds of worship must be derived, their sleighty conveyance is not easily discerned, unless they be well eyed. To admit no greater multiplicity of habits or graces than we have need of is a point of good use in every part of divinity. And setting aside Aquinas's authority[s], (which we may oversway with St. Austin's,) what necessity is there of clothing our

[s] Vide Bellarm. de Beatitud. Sanct. lib. 1. cap. 12. parag. 5.

souls with two distinct habits of religion, one of *latria*, wherewith we serve God, another of *dulia*, whereby we tender such respect and service as is fit for saints and angels? For every abstract number, without addition or subtraction of any unity, without any the least variation in itself, necessarily includes a different proportion to every number that can be compared with it: and so doth every sanctified or religious soul, without any internal alteration, or infusion of more habits or graces than that by which it is sanctified, naturally bring forth three several sorts of religious and respectful demeanour; 1. towards God; 2. towards saints or angels; 3. towards princes, men in authority, or of moral worth. As it is but one lesson, *Give honour to whom honour, love to whom love, tribute to whom tribute*[t]; so it is but one religious habit or rule of conscience that teacheth the practice of it. And in some sense it may be granted that men in authority, or of moral worth, must be worshipped with religious worship; in another sense, again, it must be denied that saints are to be worshipped with religious worship, though worthy of some peculiar religious respect, whereto kings and princes (unless saints withal) have no title.

4. The respect or service which we owe to others may take this denomination of *religious* from three several references; first, from the internal habit or religious rule of conscience which dictateth the acts of service or submission; secondly, from the intellectual excellency or personal worth of the party to whom they are tendered; thirdly, from the nature and quality of the acts or offices themselves which are ten-
946 dered to them, with the manner or circumstances of their tendering. According to the first denomination,

[t] Rom. xiii. 7.

we must worship ungodly magistrates and irreligious princes with religious worship. For if we must do all things for conscience sake, and as in the sight of God, our service, wheresoever it is due, must be no eyeservice, no feigned respect. All our actions and demeanours must be religious, as religion is opposed to hypocrisy, dissimulation, or timeserving. And in this sense religious and civil worship are not opposite, but coordinate. Men truly religious must be religiously civil in their demeanour towards others. If our respect or service take the denomination of *religious* from the personal worth or internal excellency of the party whom we worship, it is most true we are to worship saints with more than mere civil worship. None of our church (I dare be bound) will deny that godly and religious men must be reverenced, not only for their virtues merely moral or politic, but for their sanctity and devotion. Yet is this all that the modern papist seeks to prove against us. And from this antecedent (which needs no proof) he presently takes that for granted which he shall never be able to prove, either from these or other premises, to wit, that saints are to be worshipped with religious worship as it is opposed to civil worship. His meaning, if it reach the point in question, must be this: we are bound to offer up the proper acts of religion as prayers, with other devotions, by way of personal honour or service to the saints. This, we say, is formal idolatry.

5. It is one thing to tender our service in lowliness of spirit for conscience sake unto the prince, another to tender him the service of our spirit, or subjection of our consciences. Religion binds me to bow my knee, or use other accustomed signs of obeisance, in unfeigned testimony that I acknowledge him lord of my body, armed with authority from the Maker of it to

take vengeance upon it for denial of its service. Or in case he punish me without cause, the bond of conscience and religion ties me to submit this outward man in humility of spirit to the unlawful exercise of his lawful power, rather than I should grant him the command or disposal of my religion, or honour him with the acts or exercises of it. In like sort, the sight and presence of any, whom God hath graced with extraordinary blessings of his Spirit, will voluntarily extort signs of submissive respect from every sanctified and religious spirit, in undoubted token that they reverence God's gifts bestowed upon him, and heartily desire their souls might take some tincture or impression from his gracious carriage or instructions, which they can hardly do without some nearer link of familiarity and acquaintance; or at least would do so much better by how much the link were closer, or their vicinity greater. Their right end and scope, whereto the instinct of grace inherent in our souls doth direct these external signs of submission, is to woo their souls and spirits, whom we thus reverence, to some more intimate conjunction. This submissive reverence, though not required by them, is on our parts necessary, for holding such consort or just proportion, with the abundant measure of God's graces in them, as we may draw comfort and perfection from them. Contemplation of others' excellency, without this submissive temper in ourselves, either stirs up envy or occasioneth despair: and yet all that these outward and unfeigned signs of submission can lawfully plight unto them is the service of our bodies or inferior faculties. These we could be content to sacrifice not to them, but for their sakes, always provided that we do not prejudice the right or dominion which our own spirits
947 and consciences have over our bodies, immediately

under God. But to offer up the internal and proper fruits of the Spirit unto them by way of tribute and honour, is to dishonour, to deny that God which made them. The seeds of grace and true religion are sown immediately by his sole powerful hand, and their native offspring (acts of faith especially) must be reserved entire and untouched for him. Prayers intrinsically religious, or devotions truly sacred, are oblations which may not, which cannot without open sacrilege, be solemnly consecrated to any other's honour, but only to his who infuseth the spirit of prayer and thanksgiving into men's hearts. The principal crime whereof we accuse the Romish church, and whereof such as purposely examine the indictment put up by reformed churches against her and her children, are to take special notice, is, her open professed direct intendment to honour them which are no gods with those prayers or devotions, with these elevations of minds and spirits, wherewith they present the only wise, immortal King, in temples dedicated to his service. He that prayed in old times to an idol, in a grove destinated to his worship, did wrong the true God, after the same manner that he doth which robs him of his tithes before they be set apart for his house. But to come into his house of prayer with serious purpose to honour him with the sacrifice of a contrite or broken spirit, and in the time of oblation to divert our best intentions to the honour of our fellow-creatures, is worse than Ananias and Sapphira's sin, *a lying to the Holy Ghost*, or a mockery of him, a sacrilegious purloining of that which was brought unto the sanctuary, and solemnly consecrated to the Lord of the temple.

CHAP. XXVI.

That the Worship which Satan demanded of our Saviour was the very same wherewith the Romish Church worshippeth Saints, that is, Dulia, *not* Latria, *according to their Distinction. That our Saviour's Answer doth absolutely prohibit the Offering of this Worship, not only to Satan, but to any Person whatsoever, besides God. The Truth of this Assertion proved by St. John's Authority and St. Peter's.*

1. THE doctrine delivered in the former chapter was a truth in old times so clear, and so well approved by the constant practice of living saints, that the very quotation of that law whereon we ground it did put the devil himself for the present to a nonplus. But he hath bethought himself of new answers since, and found opportunity to distil his intoxicating distinctions into modern brains through jesuitical quills. Howsoever, to eyes not darkened with the smoke of hell, it will never take the least tincture of probability, much less any permanent colour of solid truth, that the tempter should demand *cultum latriæ* (as now it is taken by the Jesuits) of our Saviour. Or, although he had set so high a price at the first word upon so fair commodities as he proffered, there could be no doubt of his readiness to fall lower at the second, rather than to hazard the loss of his market: for he loves to play at small games, rather than altogether to sit out. And
948 if the Jesuits' answers to our arguments were current, their master, with half of one of their skill in sophistry, might have put ours to a new reply, as he did him twice, to a *Scriptum est. It is written,* (saith our Saviour,) *Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and*

him only shalt thou serve[u]. True, saith the Jesuit, *cultu latriæ;* for it is written, αὐτῷ μόνῳ λατρεύσεις, but not αὐτὸν μόνον προσκυνήσεις: for this kind of worship, (expressed by the Greek προσκύνησις,) by our [v]adversaries' doctrine, is due to saints. What was it then which the devil did expressly demand of our Saviour, *latria* or *dulia?* Neither expressly, but προσκύνησις, *adoration.* But this worship may be demanded upon some higher style than befits saints to accept or use. It may be demanded in testification of homage royal, or in acknowledgment of the party to whom it is tendered for lord and sovereign of the parties which tender it. To him that would thus reply, the rejoinder is ready out of the text: for the devil did not exact any external sign of submission unto himself, as unto the supreme disposer or prime fountain of the temporal blessings which he promised: the tenor of his promise was thus; *All this power will I give thee, and the glory of the kingdoms: for that is delivered unto me*[x]. By whom? questionless by some superior and

[u] St. Austin (whose authority they wrest to this effect) was mistaken in the use or signification of the word *latria.* His error was in that he thought it did always signify religious worship or adoration of spirit: and this kind of worship he knew only to be due to God; whereas he had observed the Latin word *adorare* to be common both to civil and religious worship. The same Father in 61. question upon Genesis acknowledgeth no medium or mean between civil adoration and *latria,* that is, between civil worship and the worship which is due only unto God. The occasion of St. Austin's distinction may be best gathered from his words: Quæritur quomodo scriptum sit, *Dominum Deum tuum adorabis, et illi soli servies,* cum Abraham sic honoraverit populum quendam gentium, ut etiam adoraret. Sed animadvertendum est in eodem præcepto, non dictum, *Dominum Deum tuum solum adorabis,* sicut dictum est, *et illi soli servies,* quod est Græce λατρεύσεις. Talis enim servitus non nisi Deo debetur. — Aug. quæst. 61. super Gen.

[v] Vide Vasquez, lib. 2. de Adoratione, disp. 8. cap. 12. num. 366.

[x] Matth. iv. 9. Luke iv. 6, 7.

more sovereign lord, from whose right he sought to derive his warrant to bestow them; *To whomsoever I will, I give it.* The warrant pretended in respect of the parties capable of the donation of it is very large, but not without conditions to be performed by them: *If thou therefore wilt fall down before me, and worship me, all shall be thine.* Προσκύνησις, or *falling down before him,* being all the tempter did demand; our Saviour's reply had neither been direct nor pertinent, unless the exclusive particle *only* be referred as well to προσκύνησις, *worship,* or *prostration,* as to λατρεία, or *supreme service.* Is it then but a mere trick of wit, or point of sophistry without sin, thus palpably to divide that sense of scripture which God had so closely joined? Is it a petty presumption only for a Jesuit to think he could have caught the devil more cunningly in his own play, or have gone beyond him with a mental reservation or evasion, if the like proffer had been made to him as was to our Saviour? For this in effect is the Jesuit's answer. The law forbids λατρείαν only, the devil required only προσκύνησιν: therefore he demanded nothing forbidden by the law. To be able thus to play fast and loose with the sacred bond of God's law at his pleasure, or to loose the link of absolute allegiance to supreme Majesty with frivolous distinctions pretended from some slips of the ancients, is that wherein the Jesuit glories. Such of this sublimated sect as stiffly maintain that not only all image-worship, but all civil use of pictures was forbidden the Jews, are not ashamed to stand upon the former gloss, as the best rock of their defence for maintaining the distinction between *dulia* and *latria.* But the words of the law are still the same, and therefore can admit no distinction now which they might not then have borne. Howbeit,

were that law abrogated so far as it concerns the use of images, it could not disannul this new distinction, were this grounded upon any other pregnant scripture; but so grounded it is not, it cannot be.

2. Such as would blush at the former gloss will perhaps reply, that the lowest degree of any worship was more than the devil had right to challenge, and more than might be tendered to him by any intelligent 949
creature. The exception, I grant, were good, if our Saviour had only refused to worship him because he was God's enemy; but it no way toucheth the reason of his refusal, which is universally perpetual. For he took no notice of the devil's ill deserts, but frames such an answer to the demand itself, as was to stand for an unalterable exposition of that indispensable law, in respect of every creature either tempting or tempted in like sort, to the world's end. None may worship or serve any creature with religious worship; all of us must so worship and serve God alone. The words of the text itself, as well in the Septuagint as in the Hebrew, are no more than these: *Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and him shalt thou serve.* The supereminent dignity of the party whose fear and service are enjoined doth (in our Saviour's logic) make the indefinite form of the commandment fully equivalent to this universal negative: —No man may tender any act of religious fear, worship, or service, to any man or angel, to any thing in heaven or earth, or in the regions under the earth, but only to him who made all, who is Lord of all, whom all are bound to fear and worship, with all their hearts, with all their souls, and all their might.— And of all kinds of religious fear or service, *ci duliæ* is either most improperly or most im tendered to saints and angels. For though as

house there be many mansions, so no doubt there be several degrees or ranks of attendants, yet the highest and the lowest members of Christ's mystical body are brethren; the greatest angel and the least amongst the sons of men are fellowservants. Do we speak this as men unwilling to bow their knees unto their betters without hope of gain, or loath to spend their breath without a fee? or doth not the scripture say the same? Do not such of our Lord and Master's servants as are clothed with glory and immortality, and daily behold his presence in perfect joy, inhibit the first proffers of such obeisance to them present, as the Romish liturgy solemnly consecrates to the shrines and statues of others much meaner, in their absence? How beautiful were the feet of that heavenly ambassador, how glorious and joyful were the tidings he then brought unto the inhabitants of the earth! *Blessed are they which are called unto the marriage supper of the Lamb. These are the true sayings of God*[y]. Such was the state of the messenger, and such his message, as did well deserve to have an apostle for his scribe: for he bid him write. And yet when this his secretary fell at his feet, verse 10, to worship he said unto him, *See thou do it not: I am thy fellowservant, and of thy brethren that have the testimony of Jesus: worship God.* Did St. John want wit to reply; "So I will, *cultu latriæ;* but thee, my lord, (his ambassador,) also *cultu duliæ?*" This is a distinction of such subtilty that it surpasseth all skill or spirit of prophecies. Otherwise St. John might have known the use of it when he had better opportunity to use it than any had since. Yet if he had been so disposed, the angel prevented him—*I am thy fellowservant;* and it is the duty of servants

y Rev. xix. 9.

not to seek honour one of another, but to be yokefellows in their master's service, consorts in setting forth his honour. [z]Bellarmine was conscious that his first answer to this place, though borrowed from antiquity, was erroneous or impertinent; *Corrigendus fuit adorator non propter errorem adorationis sed propter errorem personæ:* "St. John was not to be reformed for offering to worship him whom he took to be Christ, but in that he mistook the angel for Christ." St. Austin's[a] words, upon which Bellarmine was too wise to rely too much, are these; *Talis apparuerat angelus ut pro Deo posset adorari; et ideo fuerat corrigendus adorator;* "The angel did so appear, as he 950
might seem to be God, or to be worshipped as God; and therefore the worshipper was to be rectified."

3. But let us try whether his second cogitations be any sounder. "St. John did well in proffering to worship the angel; as Abraham, Lot, and other of his godly ancestors had done: but the angel did prohibit him in reverence to Christ's humanity[b]." For since the angels themselves have done homage to Christ's humanity, they will not receive that homage from men which before Christ's incarnation they did. Let him pretend what authority he list for the truth of this reply, it is impertinent to the point in question; and we may drive him to another shift by pressing this evasion. For if the angels since Christ's incarnation have released men of their wonted homage; or rather wholly resigned it into Christ's hand, abandoning the least acknowledgment of religious worship when they come as God's ambassadors in person: we demand whether the Romish church did well 951
in commanding her sons and daughters to

[z] Bellarm. l. 1. de Sanct. Beatitudine, cap. 14. §.
[a] Aug. quæst. 61. in Gen. [b] Bellarm. ibid. de

them still in this latter age, wherein we expect Christ's coming in glory to judgment? The form of Bellarmine's second answer is very strange, and such as he derides Brentius for using in a matter far more capable of it: "We rightly worship angels, and the angels rightly refuse to be worshipped by us:—for after the angel had given out his prohibition, *Vide ne feceris* cap. xix. 10, *See thou do it not*, the apostle offers to do the like again, cap. xxii. 9, as well knowing that he did well in worshipping, and the angel as well in refusing to be worshipped: nor may we suspect that St. John was either indocile or forgetful." Much less may we suspect that God Almighty would have his children of the church militant and triumphant to compliment it all the year long in such manner as strangers will for a turn or two at their first meeting, the one in good manners offering, and the other better refusing the chief place or precedence; least of all may we think that one of God's glorious ambassadors could out of maidenly modesty be driven to maintain false doctrine. To have avoided the first proffer of worship so peremptorily forbidden—*See thou do it not*—had been enough to disprove the solemn practice of it in whomsoever. But not herewith content, he gives a general reason of his prohibition; *See thou do it not: for I am thy fellowservant: worship God.* May we not supply his meaning by analogy of our Saviour's comment upon the text of the law,—Worship him alone whom the angels can never worship too much, nor any man on earth enough?

4. It is a warrant to our churches fully sufficient not to do homage unto angels absent, because in presence they refuse and forbid it. By what warrant the Romish church can obtrude it upon them against

their wills, let her sons look to it. We have cause to suspect, and they to fear, that the devil and his swift messengers have played Gehazis with their Naamans; run to their rulers in these heavenly prophets' names, to demand such gratifications upon false pretences in their absence, as they resolutely refused when in all reason they best deserved them, if at any time they might have taken them. The disciple is not above his master, much less is the pupil's practice to be imitated before the tutor's doctrine. St. John in this dialogue was the pupil: do they then grace him by taking his proffer to worship this angel for their warrant, or rather wrong the angel in not admitting his twofold inhibition (at both times obeyed by this his scholar) for a sufficient caveat to deter them from making the worshipping of saints and angels a special part of their solemn service? But this is the curse which by God's just judgment is fallen upon 951
them for detaining the truth in unrighteousness; that as the horseleech sucketh only the melancholy humour out of men's blood, so these locusts, having relinquished the pure fountain of truth, must long after the dregs of antiquity in their doctrine, and in their practice feed principally upon such infirmities of the flesh as sometimes mingle themselves with the spiritual behaviour of God's saints. For even the souls of God's dearest saints have their habitation during this life with flesh and blood. And albeit we sinful men may not pass our censures upon St. John, nor measure his carriage in the angel's presence by any the
oversight in ourselves, who are never taugl
ourselves in such admiration of spirit as l
yet the holy angel, with whose glori
he was astonished, might discover the
tions of his spirit or affection by son

or misfashioned lines in his bodily gesture or outward behaviour, as an expert courtier would quickly espy in a mere contemplative scholar, called into some court-like audience. This carriage was for the present more pardonable in him than the continual imitation of it can be in any. A gracious prince would take little or no displeasure, if a man in a dream or trance, or in some extraordinary passion of fear arising from apprehension of imminent danger, or of joy for unexpected safety, should bestow royal titles on his special benefactor, or prefer extemporary petitions or gratulations *ore tenus* in such submissive style or gesture as might impeach as well the greatest subject in the kingdom that should accept them, as the meanest that could offer them, of disloyalty, if they were drawn into legal form or daily practice. Admitting the angel had not twice disallowed the worship proffered by the apostle; yet if we consider the ecstasy or strange exultation of spirit whence it was wrested, the delinquency of the Romish church (using his example for a pattern of their behaviour in public and solemn service, when no occasion of like passion is offered either by angelical presence or joyful embassage) argueth more wilful and contemptuous disloyalty towards God than the former supposition implieth towards earthly princes. And as it is a point of indiscretion to shew such peculiar observance to great personages in the prince's presence, as good manners elsewhere would exact; so to tender such solemn worship to saints and angels in the church or house of God, is a circumstance which much aggravateth the heinousness, or rather induceth an alteration of the quality of the worship itself; enough to make it superstitiously religious, though otherwise decently civil, or offensive only in excess.

5. But to what end did the apostle so carefully register the angel's twofold prohibition or his own reiterated check? to blazen his own dignity and high respect with angels, or to embolden others of meaner place in the church militant to fasten that kindness upon them absent which would not be accepted from him whiles he spake with them face to face? Some Romanists[c] think such lowly obeisance did not so well become St. John, because he was a priest; others, because he was a virgin: and the office of priesthood is in their doctrine as great, virginity in a man of his age a greater, dignity than angelical excellency. Virginity, I think, is more scarce and rare in Romish priests, than the gift of prophecy or familiarity with angels is in other men; and this is the reason that they set so high a price upon it. Others conjecture the spirit of prophecy did privilege this great apostle from the common service of angels. But the greater skill he had in heavenly mysteries, the greater were 952
his motives to worship this angel, under God, his principal instructor. And St. Peter's refusal of like obeisance from Cornelius doth so crush all these and whatsoever pretences can be brought, that they can never seem whole or sound again to such as first made them.

6. Cornelius was neither prophet, priest, nor virgin, a Gentile by birth and a novice in faith, committed by the angel of God to St. Peter's instruction. He was in conscience and religion bound to reverence this great apostle; not only for his relig[illegible] sanctified life, but as his father in Go[illegible] guardian under Christ. But might he [illegible] ship him with religious worship as [illegible] advocate or intercessor with God,

[c] Vide Bellarmin. loco ci[illegible]

patron? No: when he offered no other sign of submission to St. Peter's person than every Romish priest and prelate doth unto his image, he took him up, and warns him not to fall down before him or any saint so again; *I myself also am a man.* But may not this speech imply that Cornelius took him at first sight for a god, and so polluted his external worship with this internal misconceit? Sure he that was so well acquainted with the Jewish religion, and so, so well spoken of by the Jews[d], did not acknowledge more gods than one. And he could not be ignorant, *that one Simon Peter, which lodged with one Simon the tanner*, was neither this one God whom he before had worshipped, nor any god. For would the angel have willed him to send to Joppa for God to come unto him? But albeit Cornelius from the first to the last did perfectly know Simon Peter to be a man, yet he knew him to be a man sent from God to instruct him in the way of life. And out of that natural infirmity of flesh and blood, which (wanting such as St. Peter was, to check or control it) brought forth idolatry in the heathens and the Romanists, he sought to entertain God's ambassador in most lowly and submissive fashion. To set their hearts too much upon such creatures as are God's instruments for their extraordinary good, is a temptation wherewith good natured men, such as Cornelius was, without spiritual instruction, are soonest overtaken. And out of the abundance of affectionate desire to testify his thankfulness in the best sort that he could, he renders that to the ambassador which was due only to his Master. *Hic est vetustissimus referendi bene merentibus gratiam mos, ut tales numinibus ascribant*[e]; "The

[d] Acts x. 5—7. [e] Plinius in Historia. Similia habet Lactantius.

most ancient manner of expressing thankfulness to special benefactors is, to enrol them in the calendar of gods, or divine powers." After the Holy Ghost, to the astonishment of the circumcision, had fallen upon all that heard Peter's words, in testimony that they were the words of God; did either Cornelius himself or the meanest Gentile present fall down and worship St. Peter, though not as the author and fountain of that inestimable blessing whereof all were made partakers, yet as the immediate intercessor which had procured it? No: St. Peter had so well instructed Cornelius before, that, as the [f]text resolves us, the first fruits of their new tongues were offered up immediately in sacrifice *unto God which had given such gifts to men.* The Spirit, whereof they were partakers, taught them to glorify the giver only; not man, which had nothing which he had not received.

7. Never had any man juster occasion to worship an angel than St. John, or a saint than Cornelius and his company had. The reason why the Lord in wisdom would have as well their willingness to worship, as the angel's and St. Peter's unwillingness to accept their proffered submission, so expressly registered, was, to imprint the true meaning of that law in the hearts 953
of all that should read those stories; *Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve:* as also the necessity of that caveat which another apostle had given to posterity; *Let no man beguile you of your reward in a voluntary humility and worshipping of angels, intruding himself into things which he hath not seen, vainly puffed up in his fleshly mind*[g]. If so main a pillar of Christ's church as St. John (who foresaw the general apostasy from the sincere worship of God to antichristian

[f] Acts x. 46. [g] Coloss. ii. 18.

idolatry) were thus shaken with this temptation, it was not to be expected that any (after that Satan, who can transform himself into an angel of light, was let loose) should be able to stand without vigilant attention unto John's admonitions, and these fair warnings which God had given the world in him and Cornelius. A senseless and reprobate stupidity, more than Jewish, hath befallen most of the modern Romanists for their wilful relapse into heathenish idolatry. What heathenish priest did ever frame an answer to the objections of the orthodox, either so ridiculous in itself, or which might argue such a respectless esteem of the divine Majesty, whom they were challenged to wrong, as [h]Vasquez and Salmeron, with others, have made to this instance of St. Peter and Cornelius. St. Peter, say these Jesuits, (in part approved by Bellarmine[i], who loves to have two strings to his deceitful bow,) disclaimed the worship offered him, not as if it were not due unto him. How then? In modesty. Doth this make for them or against them? If it were his modesty to refuse it from Cornelius, it would be good manners in them not to offer it till they know more of his mind, or meet him face to face as Cornelius did; who yet did not press him to take it, as in good manners he should, if out of modesty only he had refused it. But they have made St. Peter's image of such a metal as it will not easily blush, and charmed it with such new distinctions as it shall not tremble, whiles they do such homage to it as would have moved St. Peter himself no less than the people's dancing before the golden calf did Moses. The image, they think, doth well approve of their service, in that it doth not

[h] Vasquez, l. 1. de Adorat. disput. 5. c. 3. n. 161.
[i] Bellar. de Sanctor. Beatitudine, lib. 1. cap. 4.

disallow it, nor bid them stand up, saying, (what it could not truly say, albeit these impostors could teach it to speak,) *for I also am a man.* Yet if St. Peter himself hear their prayers, and see their gestures to it, as well as if he were among them, will he not be as modest in God's presence, who is always an undoubted spectator of this their service, as he was before Cornelius? will he not disavow their practice as quite contrary to his example; and their doctrine, as directly contradictory to his instructions? And do they truly honour, or rather foully vilify St. Peter and the rest of God's glorious saints, in obtruding greater honour to their images of lifeless wood and stone than any Christians offered to them whilst they lived, or, were they present, yet are capable of?

CHAP. XXVII. 954

That the Respect which we owe to Saints deceased (supposing they were really present with us) doth differ only in Degree, not in Nature or Quality, from the Respect which we owe unto true living Saints. That the same Expression of our Respect or Observance towards Saints or Angels locally present, cannot without Superstition or Idolatry be made unto them in their Absence.

1. SUPPOSE St. Peter, or the angel whom St. John proffered to adore, should undoubtedly appear unto us, and vouchsafe us liberty of proposing our desires unto them; we might and would tender them respect and reverence (not for their civil dignity, or hopes of promotion from them, but for their personal sanctity) which should exceed all reverence we owe to ordinary godly men, as much as the civil honour we give to kings doth our civil respect of any subject that is our better. But as our sovereign observance of kings, or supreme earthly majesty, may not transcend

the latitude of civil honour; so neither might we tender such honour, reverence, or worship to St. Peter or the angel, were they present, as would transgress the utmost bounds of that respect or reverence which is in some measure due to every godly man. The difference between our respect to angels, the blessed Virgin, or to saints of the highest rank and the lowest, may be greater in degree than the latitude of civil honour (in respect of monarchs and their meanest officers) can afford; because the amplitude of sanctifying grace doth, for aught we know, far exceed the measure of moral virtues or latitude of civil dignity. But the several observances which we owe to kings and to others that are our betters in the rank of subjects, differ more in specifical quality and essence, than the several respects which are due to angels or saints of the highest order and to religious Lazarus, were both equally present. For kings, in matters concerning our goods or bodies, have a sovereignty communicated to them from God, not communicate by them to their greatest subjects; so have no saints or angels in matters spiritual any lordship or dominion over us; we owe no allegiance of our spirit, save only to one Lord. Christ, in these cases, is our sole King (whose felicity is communicated to all his followers, his sovereignty to none); in respect of him, the greatest saints and angels be our fellow-subjects. What respect or reverence then do we owe them in respect of prayers or invocations, suppose we might speak with them face to face? As our necessities would compel us to request their prayers to God for us; so good manners would teach us to fit the manner of our observance or submissive entreaty to the measure of their sanctity, or of that favour which they have with God, in respect of ordinary

godly men, whose prayers we crave with due observance of their persons. The rule of religious discretion would so proportion our obedience to their instructions, as their instructions are proportioned to the directions of usual pastors; we would be ready to do them any bodily service with so much greater fidelity and better affection than we do to others, as we conceive them to be more faithful and fervent in God's service than others are. But religion itself, and the rule of God's word, which they most exactly obey, would restrain us from falling down before them with our bodies, with purpose to lift up our minds unto 955 them, as to our patrons or secondary mediators. To offer up the fruits of the spirit, or consecrate the spirit of prayer and thanksgiving to the honour of any, save only of him that made, redeemed, and sanctified our souls and spirits, is—we maintain it unto death—sacrilegious, heathenish impiety. Yet must *dulia*, which these men consecrate wholly to the honour of saints, be of necessity an essential part of the spirit of prayer, if the prayers themselves, which it brings forth, be, as they contend, *cultus vere religiosus*, "true or intrinsically religious worship." Religion is the bond or link between the Creator and the creature; the essence of religious prayers consists in the elevation of the spirit; the use and end of the spirit's elevation is, that we may be joined in spirit with Christ. To fix our hearts on any thing besides God is a spiritual fornication or adultery; but thus to elevate our spirits, which Christ hath espoused unto himself by grace, unto saints and angels, (as they do that direct religious prayers unto them,) in the house and temple of God, is like an incestuous pollution of the marriage bed, as if a woman betrothed unto the eldest brother, and heir apparent unto the crown, should prostitute her body

upon her marriage day to his kinsman or younger brother.

2. But admit St. Peter or some angel should by God's appointment vouchsafe their local residence again amongst the inhabitants of the earth, work miracles, heal diseases, and instruct *viva voce* in the remote deserts of Afric or in the Indies, where we could neither have personal access unto them, nor commend our suits unto them by letter, or interposed messenger; might we here in England kneel down, and, turning our faces towards the place of their residence, pour forth the requests of our hearts unto them, as Daniel, being in exile, did his towards Jerusalem, wherein God had promised to dwell? This were to outstrip the heathen as well in the essential form of idolatry as in the degrees of superstitious or magical folly. What heathen did ever exhibit solemn worship, or pour forth their petitions for aid or succour unto Apollo, Mercury, or Æsculapius, much less unto their demi-gods or heroics, save only in places where they supposed them resident, as in their temples, about their oracles, or before shrines or idols, which (according to ethnick divinity) were in a sort animated with their presence? or admitting any heathen living in Asia should have directed his prayers towards Hercules his temple in Greece, might not his folly have been justified by the same apology which the Romanist brings for his, if that were just and orthodoxal, *Jupiter est quodcunque vides;* the supreme power adored by him under the name of Jupiter he might (with good approbation of the learned) have avouched to be every where able and willing to acquaint the lesser gods (his more intimate friends, with whom he might be bolder) with his petitions in so great distance. To be persuaded that any saint should be able at all hours of day and night

to take notice of all the petitions that are or can be made unto him in Italy, Germany, France, and Spain, or throughout the whole world, is to ascribe greater divinity unto him than any heathens did to their ordinary gods, whom notwithstanding they conceived worthy of divine honour. The fruition of his presence who knows all things at all times cannot make saints or angels so capable of this perpetual ubiquitary knowledge, as personal union with him who is every where essentially present might make Christ's body of ubiquitary local presence; yet to maintain it to be so present every where is in our adversaries' judgment an heresy, but a far greater to ascribe this ubiquitary 956
knowledge unto saints. And out of this conceit to direct prayers to them in heaven from every part of the earth is formal idolatry, as well in practice as in opinion; *for God, even God only, knows the hearts of all the children of men*[k].

3. To conclude: with what manner of respect or observance (in particular) glorified saints or angels are to be entertained by us mortal men, is a point impossible to be determined, until we have just occasion to dispute it. And other occasion we can have none, save what their presence or commerce with us shall administer. Or, admitting their undoubted apparitions were at this day as rife as heretofore they have been pretended, it would be the first part of our duty to fashion ourselves unto such observance as they would prescribe us, not to prescribe them what manner of honour they were to receive from us. God's word concerning their worship is silent, save only that St. Paul hath advised us to content ourselves with ignorance in these secrets unto whose search we are not called; to affect whose knowledge we can have no provocation or impulsion besides the vain swelling

[k] 1 Kings viii. 39.

of our fleshly minds. But whatsoever respect or observance might lawfully be tendered to their infallible appearance, cannot, without impious folly, be seriously proffered to them whilst they appear not; and solemnly to consecrate it to their images whose persons we never saw, is the height of impiety. Civility and common sense may inform us, that to tender such respect or signs of submission to princes or great personages whom we see afar off, as would become us being admitted to conference with them, would argue either distraction of mind or clownish simplicity. Though it were lawful to express our necessities with bended knees to saints or angels vouchsafing their presence, and to implore their intercession for us with sighs and tears; yet may not such as have eyes pray to them or any whom they cannot see, save only to Him who is invisible. None that have sense may pray to any of whose virtual presence or acquaintance with our affairs we have no sensible undoubted pledge, save only to Him whom we know not by sense, but by the spirit of grace and faith, every where to hear and know all things that are done or said any where. Howbeit, for every man at all times, in every place, upon all occasions, to worship Him in such manner, as they without offence, with true devotion, have done unto whom his extraordinary presence hath been manifested, would be but a superstitious observance. For although we be fully assured that he sees our gestures, knows our hearts, and hears our petitions, at all times and every where alike; yet he sees that we have not always the like occasions which they had to pray or worship as they did. And any extraordinary manner of worship without extraordinary impulsion is will-worship. More particularly; religious prayers being proper acts of faith, unless they be made in faith, are most properly οὐκ ἐκ πίστεως, *not of faith*, quite contrary to the

rule of faith, which in any point to cross is a presumptuous sin, but to contradict it in matters of religious worship is the sin of idolatry. Now religious prayers cannot be conceived or exhibited to any in faith, without certainty of faith that they to whom they are exhibited do hear us. Seriously to tender requests to the souls of saints deceased, further distant from us than any one part of the earth is from another, after the same manner we might do upon certain notice of their presence or mutual pledges of commerce with us, is but to offer the sacrifice of fools unto the wind, or to sow the element wherein we breathe 957
with the poisonous seeds of ethnick superstition. And so in fine the Romanist doth not enrich the saints, but stocks and stones (the works of his own hands), with that honour whereof he hath robbed his God. His adoring, his kissing, and his worshipping of saints and images with bended knees, and other signs of submission, is but a solemn invitation of infernal ghosts to keep residence about them. These are the harpies which defile God's service, and devour the people's offerings, which their enchanted priests would persuade them were presented to and accepted by God's saints. To think the saints should be permitted to receive our particular petitions, and not be permitted to return their particular answers, or not be enabled as freely to communicate their minds to us, as we to impart our desires to them, is an imagination so gross, that it can have no ground either of faith or common reason. We may retort Bellarmine's and his consorts' arguments, for invocation of saints, upon themselves.
the saints, whom they invocate, do not in
minds unto their supplicants in such par
ner as their supplicants impart their de
it is either because they will not or th

say they will not if they can, is to impeach them of pride, or want of charity; to say they cannot, is to slander them with impotency, or with want of favour with God. For he that enables them, as they suppose he doth, to hear us speak from earth to heaven, can questionless enable them so to speak or express themselves, that we might hear them from heaven to earth. It is but one and the same branch of his infinite power and goodness to give saints deceased the like use and exercise of spiritual tongues, as he grants them, by the Romanists' doctrine, of spiritual ears.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The Romish Church in her public Liturgies expressly gives those glorious Titles unto Saints, unto which no other real Worship besides the Worship of Latria is answerable.

1. SEEING as well prayers in the first place directed unto saints, as these which they tender immediately unto God upon saints' days, are offered up in honour of the saints, in the same place wherein, and with the same external signs of observance wherewith they solemnly worship God, what note of difference have they left to distinguish themselves from gross idolaters? Only the internal conceit which they have of divine excellency as much greater than angelical dignity. But how shall we know this different esteem of God, of Christ, and of his saints to be truly seated in their hearts, without open confession of the mouth, making some distinction in the solemn and public profession of allegiance to both? Is the form then of their devotion to God and Christ as accurately distinguished by any sovereign title from their supplications unto saints, as petitions to kings and princes are from petitions made unto their officers? One of the most peculiar titles of Christ as Mediator (by Bellarmine's con-

fession) is that in the tenth of John, *Ego sum ostium,* "I am the door;" for from this attribute he proves him to be the only immediate Mediator. If he who is the door be the only immediate Mediator, what manner of mediatrix must she be which is the gate, the blessed gate, by which the righteous enter? Did he conceive his second proposition before mentioned in terms more wary than we were aware of, *Sancti non* 958
sunt immediati intercessores, "Saints are not our immediate intercessors," but some saintess may make immediate intercession? For so they pray unto the blessed Virgin;

Ave maris stella.
Dei mater alma,
Atque semper virgo,
Fœlix cœli porta[1].

Hail, star of the sea,
God's sweet mother (and mate),
Everlasting virgin,
Heaven's happy gate.

And yet, it seems, they make her withal the foundation or foundress of our faith: for so it followeth in the same hymn;

Funda nos in pace.

Yea, the fountain of sanctification, from whose fulness we receive grace for grace:

Virgo singularis,
Intra omnes mitis,
Nos culpis solutos,
Mites fac et castos.
Vitam præsta puram,
Iter para tutum.

Of virgins the very prime and flower,
Whose breast of meekness is the bower,
From guilt us free, which soul doth waste,
And make, O make us meek and chaste;

[1] Vide Rosarium Mariæ.

Our lives vouchsafe first to make pure,
Next, that our journey prove secure.

And because God is called the King of heaven and Father of mercy, who hath the issues of death in his hands, she must be entitled the Mother of mercy, &c.

Maria mater gratiæ,
Mater misericordiæ;
Tu nos ab hoste protege,
Et hora mortis suscipe [n].

Mary of grace, mother mild,
Who hast mercy for thy child;
Hide and save us from our foe,
When from bodies souls shall go.

From this her mild and merciful temper, they hope (it seems) that she is able to let some into heaven by the window, which may not be allowed to come in by the ordinary door or fore-gate:

Cœli fenestra facta es. Officium B. Mariæ, &c.

The attributes of Wisdom, Ecclus. xxiv., are sung or said as part of her honour; *Ab initio, et ante secula creata sum, et usque ad futurum seculum non desinam, et in habitatione sancta coram ipso ministravi,* ver. 8. Of this stamp is that hymn to the apostles cited by Bellarmine without blushing [o]:

Quorum præcepto subditur,
Salus et languor omnium;

[n] Vid. Delri. l. 4. c. 1. q. 2. s. 2. Bellar. lib. 1. de Sanctor. Beatit. c. 17. §. 4.—Concipitur et Deiparam Virginem ut sponsam evasuram fuisse summi patris, cum illi ediderit unigenitum: nec non matrem futuram veræ vitæ, et per hoc longe melioris quam Heva: quandoquidem sicut Adamus, ita et Heva, in animam est ficta viventem: at Maria sicut et Christus, in spiritum est electa vivificantem. Unde et mater, nedum dicitur, vitæ, sed gratiæ et dilectionis pulchræ: sicut et de illa sacra canit ecclesia.—Jacobus Naclantus episcopus Clugiensis in scripturæ medulla, fol. 37. pag. 1. b.

[o] Lib. de Beatitud. Sanct. cap. 17. §. 4.

Sanate ægros moribus,
Nos reddentes virtutibus p.

By whose decree all like or pine, 959
To soul-sick patients health resign,
And unto virtue us incline.

But more sacrilegious by much is that hymn unto St. John, so well known and so common, that the notes for plainsong were taken out of it, (*ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la,*) which we might have just cause to mislike, did not the syllables sound otherwise *extra dictionem* than *in dictione* they did.

Ut queant laxis resonare fibris,
Mira gestorum famuli tuorum;
Solve peccantis labii reatum,
Sancte Johannes q.

That with free hearts thy servants may
Thy wondrous acts and praise display,
From sinful lips guilt take away,
O holy Saint John.

Did not such as first conceived or commonly used this song intend to honour St. John with the best kind of worship that was in their breasts, when they desire their hearts and souls may be purified, to the end they might more clearly sound forth his praise? Could the sweet singer of Israel have consecrated his best devotions in more solemn sort unto God than these words imply? Inasmuch as we never read that St. John did either send down fire from heaven, or cause the mouths of these priests of Bell to be stopped with hair and pitch; this is to me, and will be unto the unpartial reader, a better argument that this blessed saint did never hear those or like prayers di-

p Compare these and the like ejaculatory hymns with the ejaculations of heathen orators and poets, ch. 20.

q Vid. Futean. in Mod. lade, pag. 51. edit. 1599.

rected unto him, than the Romish church shall be able to bring, that saints deceased are (ordinarily) acquainted with men's petitions or desires in particular. Yet unto all these, and many like, we must expect no answer but one; but that we may well expect should be a sound one, and worthy the noting: *Est tamen notandum cum dicimus non debere peti a sanctis, nisi ut orent pro nobis, nos non agere de verbis sed de sensu verborum.* "It is to be noted," saith Bellarmine[q], "that when we affirm it is not lawful to request any more of the saints than that they would pray for us, our meaning is not to be tried by the words which we use, but by the sense and meaning of them."

2. They think they may safely use these forms of words: "St. Peter, have mercy on me—save me—open me the gate of heaven;—give me health of body, patience, virtue," &c.; so they make this mental or tacit construction, "Save me, or give me this or that, by thy prayers, by thy merits." Are these the blessings then which they crave by his merits? If so, what need is there to pray to God for them? For if they be his by right of purchase, he may dispose of his own at his pleasure. But what warrant have they for this form of prayer? Nazianzen[r] so speaks in his funeral oration for St. Cyprian; and so doth the universal church in the hymns to the blessed Virgin. The more universal the practice hath been, the more universal should the reformation be. For albeit every Romanist which useth the forementioned prayers should use withal that mental expression, or tacit reservation of his own meaning, (which Bellarmine commends unto him as an antidote,) to the saints and himself; yet, for all this, he should truly and really dishonour God by verbally

q Bellar. l. 1. de Sanctor. Beat. cap. 17. §. 4. r Bellar. ibid.

honouring the saints with his glorious attributes. Yea, the denial of real honour to the saints fully answerable to the titles which he gives them, must needs be as true and real a mockery of them, as it would be to a baron or gentleman, if their inferiors should thus petition the one, "I beseech your majesty or excellency, that is, your lordship or honour, to hear me;" or thus 960 salute the other, "God bless your honour, meaning your worship."

3. But is it credible that either Nazianzen or the Romish church took that speech of St. Paul for their pattern which Jesuits now use (*post factum*) for their defence. Paul saith of himself that *he saved some*, not as God, but by his ministry of preaching and praying. Where saith Paul so? Rom. xi. 13, 14: *I speak to you Gentiles, inasmuch as I am the apostle of the Gentiles, I magnify mine office: if by any means I may provoke to emulation them which are my flesh, and might save some of them:* and 1 Cor. ix. 22; *I am made all things to all men, that I might at least save some.* Durst Bellarmine or any of the Romish church have sung the former hymn in solemn service unto St. Paul, or have enstyled him Saviour in these devotions and religious prayers, upon this warrant of his own words? To have entitled him Saviour, much more to have prayed unto him for saving health, had been a great deal more, in ordinary construction, than to have said *I am Paul's*, though that in his doctrine were to divide Christ. The first sound of such sacrilegious congratulations in his ears would have rent his heart, and made him tear his clothes with greater indignation than he did at the Lycaonians' idolatrous behaviour towards him when they took him for Jupiter. He had seen as plentiful fruits of his apostolical function as any other had done; yet all he ascribed or would

permit to be ascribed unto himself, was pain and travail; he was σύνεργος τῷ Θεῷ, *a coworker with God*, who in the efficacy or increase (to whose donor the worship of invocation is only due) could have no sharer. In respect of these neither was the external work nor the visible workman any thing.

4. But be it granted, for disputation's sake, that the title of ministerial or secondary saviour might well have become St. Paul whilst he travailed in the gospel, yet seeing the chief means he used for others' safety was submission of his high calling to their frailty, and symbolizing with their weakness, the excellency of his ministerial function or apostolical power did not enlarge itself, but rather expire by his dissolution. The ground of this our assertion is so firmly laid by our apostle himself, that, whilst the world stands, it shall never be shaken by any assault the Romish church can make against it; nor shall any distinction which the Jesuits can frame be ever able to undermine the conclusion which we ground upon it. Thus we argue, had St. Paul's favour with God been so mightily improved by death as they contend, and his affectionate notice of his followers' necessities continued the same or greater, his speedy dissolution, or departure to Christ, had been as expedient for the churches which he planted as for himself. For so (to use the Romish language) they might have had a patron in the court of heaven, the uncessant intercession of whose effectual prayers might have procured pardon for their sins, and plenty of teachers to water what he had planted. But St. Paul hath expressly said it, and we must undoubtedly believe it, that *to live for ever to make intercession for us*[8] is the essen-

[8] Heb. vii. 25.

tial prerogative of the unchangeable priesthood, the peculiar title of the everlasting Priest. *It was expedient for his disciples that he should leave them, and go to his Father, otherwise the Comforter would not have come unto them*[t]. But it never was expedient for any church or congregation to be deprived of their godly and faithful pastor's bodily presence. The only reason of this diversity is, because Christ lives for ever, and hath an everlasting priesthood; whereas saints and godly men, which are departed this life, although they still live unto God, are (touching 961
intercession or other acts of their ministerial function) dead to us. Upon these advantages we may here constrain cardinal Bellarmine either to call in his unanswerable argument (as he enstyles it), or to admit of that answer to it which our writers have given: "Why the invocation of saints should be unlawful or unprofitable, no other reason can be alleged, but either because they cannot hear the prayers which we make unto them, or will not pray as heartily to God for us as they did when they lived, or are not in such favour with God to obtain what they ask[u]." I only reply; if saints deceased can both hear our prayers, and be sooner heard of God for our good, which (as our adversaries suppose) they still tender in particular so much the more than living here they did, as their charity is increased; it is expedient for the church militant that the godliest and best ministers die the soonest, and the fastest. For so of ordinary pastors they may become more than apostles, able to hear the prayers and undertake the patronage of many thousands, with whom they could neither have commerce or conference while they lived in the flesh.

[t] John xvi. 7. [u] Bellar. l. 1. de Sanctorum Beat

5. How utterly these men evacuate the eternity of Christ's priesthood, as well by continuing a successive multiplicity of sacrificers to reiterate his everlasting sacrifice here on earth, as by joining other everlasting intercessors with him as his assistants in heaven, is an argument more directly pertinent to some articles following in the creed. My present observations must be limited by the references to the main conclusion intended—That the Romish church, in her public liturgy, doth often give the realty of Christ's sovereign titles, sometimes the very titles themselves, unto saints; sometimes leaving not so great difference between the divine Majesty or glorious Trinity and other celestial inhabitants, as the heathens did betwixt their greater and lesser gods, or as we do between ordinary princes and their subjects. Tyburn or Bedlam would quickly take order with him that would seek or suffer an act of the prerogative royal (as, granting of pardons, creation of barons, calling of parliaments) to pass jointly in the name of the king's majesty, of the queen's or prince's, and in the name of all the officers of the court and commonwealth, descending as low as bailiffs, constables, churchwardens, and tithingmen. And the pope would take it as an heretical diminution of his plenary power, if every bishop should receive his pall, every sinner his indulgence, every soul in purgatory her dismission, in his holiness's name, and in the name of all his cardinals, bishops, priests, and deacons. Yet in the translation of a Christian soul from this life to a better, after they have directed their supplications to all the several orders of saints for their intercession with God, in the very agony of death they draw their safe conducts in this form: "Depart out of this world in the name of God the Father Almighty, who hath created thee; in the name of Jesus Christ the Son of

God, who suffered for thee; in the name of the Holy Ghost, who was poured forth upon thee; in the name of angels and archangels; in the name of thrones and dominations; in the name of principalities and powers; in the name of cherubims and seraphims; in the name of patriarchs and prophets; in the name of holy apostles and evangelists; in the name of holy martyrs and confessors; in the name of holy monks and eremites; in the name of virgins, and of all gods, saints and saintesses. This day let thy soul be in peace, and thy habitation in holy Zion[x]." If thus they pray with their lips only, they mock God as well as the saints. If thus they pray with internal affection of heart and spirit, they really worship saints with the selfsame honour wherewith they honour God. Nor is it credi- 962
ble they do intend, or possible (though intended) they should in one and the same prayer or continued supplication produce, the like change in the affections of their heart and spirit as an organist doth in music by changing the stops. Or though they could produce the like change in every several ejaculation, yet the honour wherewith they honour God and the saints should continue still of the same kind, and differ only in degree or modulation. Or might they not with less impiety admit a Christian soul into the church militant than translate it into the church triumphant in other names besides the Trinity? They might better baptize them only in the name of God the Father, and of St. Francis, St. Bennet, and St. Dominick, &c. without any mention of God the Son and Holy Ghost, rather than join these as commissioners with them in dismissing souls out of their bodies. To censure this part of their liturgy as it deserves, it is no prayer,

x Breviarium Roman. de ordine commendationis animæ Deo.

but a charm, conceived out of the dregs and relics of heathenish idolatry, which cannot be brought forth but in blasphemy, nor be applied to any sick soul without sorcery.

CHAP. XXIX.

Proving by manifest Instances and confessed Matters of Fact, that the Romish Church doth really exhibit divers Parts of that Honour or Worship unto Saints, which by her Confession is only due unto God. That her nice Distinctions of Dulia and Latria, or the like, argue no Difference at all in the Reality or Substance of the Worship, but, at the most, divers Respects of one and the same Worship.

1. THE more upon these occasions I look into the Roman liturgy, the more I am enforced to commend the heathen philosopher's ingenuous reply to Anaxarchus' sophistical allegations for honouring Alexander as a god. "[y] I, for my part," saith Callisthenes, "do not think Alexander unworthy of any honour which is

y Equidem, Anaxarche, Alexandrum nullo plane honore, qui quidem hominibus conveniat, indignum esse censeo. Cæterum statuta sunt inter homines divini et humani honoris discrimina, cum multis aliis rebus, tum templorum exædificatione, et statuarum erectione. Diis enim delubra consecramus, iisque sacra facimus et libamus. Rursus hymni deorum sunt, laudes hominum, sed non cum adoratione conjunctæ. [The Greek is, "sed præcipue adorationis ritu."] Hominibus siquidem a salutantibus oscula dantur; deos vero edito loco positos, ne contingi quidem fas est, ideoque adoratione coluntur. Tripudia etiam saltationesque diis fiunt, et pæanes cantantur. Neque vero mirum id est, quum ex diis alii aliis honores tribuantur, et quidem heroibus alii, etiam ipsi a divinis honoribus diversi. Non est igitur consentaneum hæc omnia inter se confundere, neque homines nimiis honoribus supra humanum modum extollere, et deos ad statum ab illorum dignitate alienum redigere, ut nimirum eodem quo homines cultu colantur. Neque enim pateretur Alexander privatum aliquem, regios honores electione suffragiisque illegitimis, usurpare. Multo itaque justius deos indignaturos, si quis mortalium divinos honores sibi arroget, aut ab aliis delatos sustineat.—Arrianus de Expedit. Alexandri, lib. 4. pag. 165. edit. 1704.

convenient to be given to men. But the differences betwixt honour human and divine are determined, as by many other things, so by the building of temples, by the erection of statues. We consecrate shrines and offer sacrifice and incense to the gods: unto the same gods hymns are due, as praises are to men. But the honour due to the gods is specially differenced by the manner of adoration. Men are greeted with kisses; but the gods are saluted with adoration, being placed so high that we may not touch them. Unto the gods likewise we express our joyful thanksgiving in solemn dances and songs. And no marvel, if the honour which we give to gods be distinguished from the honour which we give to men, seeing divers kinds of honours are allotted to divers gods. The honour given to heroics deceased differeth from honour truly divine. It is therefore unfitting to confound these; unfitting to extol men by lavish honour above human state, or to coarctate the gods unto a state unfitting their dignity, or to worship them after the same manner as we do men. Nor could Alexander himself be well pleased, if a private man should usurp royal titles by election, or unlawful suffrages. Much more justly will the gods be moved with indignation, if any mortal man shall either arrogantly affect or willingly accept divine honours, though proffered by others."

2. Yet, thinks the Romanist, either God will not be 963
angry, or else his anger may be quickly appeased with the mental conception of former distinctions never uttered; albeit they make the Virgin Mary queen of heaven and mother of mercy, and bestow his other best titles (in hymns or solemn service) upon the saints, it must suffice him that some few other parts of divine honour mentioned by this heathen, as offeri of sacrifice, erection of temples and altars, are reser

only to his Majesty. These, by their own confession, are proper acts of that religious worship which may not be communicated to any saint or angel; and so are vows conceived in solemn and legal form. Let us see then how well their practices suit with their speculations in these points, and what need the devotions of vulgar breasts have of sublimated brains to preserve them from the poison of damnable and more than heathenish idolatry. If I should ask one of them, what service is this you celebrate to-day? whose church is this wherein you celebrate it? they would make no scruple to say, the one was St. Peter's church, the other his mass. If both church and mass do bear his name, and be consecrated to his honour, may they not offer that unto St. Peter which is St. Peter's, and present him with a sacrifice upon that altar which bears his image and superscription? No, they may not offer a sacrifice, save only to God. But they may offer it unto God in honour of St. Peter; or in testimony that St. Peter is the patron of that place, or of such as in it supplicate unto him, or in token of their desire that his intercession for them might be accepted.

3. Or to gather the resolutions into such distinct terms, as younger or weaker capacities may strike at their errors without injury to the truth which they would make us believe doth underprop them, *Deus est unicus terminus, non unicus finis sacrificii oblati;* "God is the only party to whom the sacrifice is offered or solemnly presented, not the only party whose honour is by the offering or solemnity intended." They have as true an intention to honour St. Peter as to honour God, though in a lower degree; and (for any construction I can make of their assertions) St. Peter's honour, though in itself less, is notwithstanding more

specially and principally intended. So that by offering sacrifice unto God only, we may in some respects grant they honour God more than St. Peter, in others, we must accuse them for honouring St. Peter more than God. For illustrating this collection, I will alter only the matter and persons, not a whit of the form of the action or order of intention. The case is the same as if some great family or corporation should tender the king a royal present in most submissive and loyal manner, but petition withal to have some favourite, whom they most affect, made baron or governor and fee-farmer of the city or territories which under his majesty they inhabit, reserving all rents and services anciently due out of the lands unto the crown, or ready, if need were, a little to raise them. A wise king, in this case, would need no spectacles to discern the true reason of their professing more than ordinary loyalty to his highness at this time and place to have been their extraordinary affection unto the party whose honour they sought for their own patronage, unto whose coffers more gain were likely to accrue for the propriety of the revenues granted, than could come to the chequer from the fee-farm or royalty. And the Romanists (I am persuaded) would be more ready to deride our simplicity than to commend our charity, if we could not suspect that St. Peter in Rome, St. Dennis in Paris, St. James in Compostella, the lady Mary in Loretto, or other worse deserving saints in the places 964
whereof they are patrons, in the churches and temples dedicated to their memory, did not gain a greater portion of the people's hearts, and a truer propriety in their devotions, under the title of *dulia*, than is reserved for the great King under the title of *latria*. If then we consider not the physical form of the sacrifice only, but the end and circumstances of the

whole service, they honour God with greater titles of religion, but with less realty of religious respect or affection, than they do those saints, whom they conceive as their immediate lords, their peculiar patrons or especial benefactors. As for the Son of God, seeing they make him the matter of the offering wherewith they hope to induce his Father to grace the saints, (by granting immunity unto themselves under their patronage and protection,) they no way honour, but (as much as in them lies) disdignify him in such solemnities. The indignity offered by them unto Christ, though for its measure much less, is in proportion muchwhat the same, as if a saucy petitioner or dishonest supplicant should seek to work the king to grant his petition for his own gain and his friend's honour, by presenting his majesty with rarest jewels of the prince his only son, without his express consent, or upon presumptuous hopes of his presumed approbation.

4. But let us take their confession concerning the other points proposed in their own language. We demand, whether St. Peter have no better interest in the churches and altars that bear his name, of which his image hath taken possession, than he hath in the service that is celebrated in the one, or in the sacrifice that is offered up on the other? Here such as join hands and hearts in the repairing of the new Babel are somewhat divided in their language. Some grant the tenor of his interest to be one and the same in both, and therefore make the same plea they did before—That one church is called St. Peter's, another St. Mary's, admits (in their doctrine) this exposition; both are dedicated unto God, but the one in the name and memory of St. Peter, the other of St. Mary: or they are dedicated unto God, to the end that they may use

the intercession of St. Peter or St. Mary in that place. As the mass is called St. Peter's mass, not that the sacrifice is offered unto him, but unto God, by way of thanksgiving for the grace bestowed on St. Peter, and Peter withal may be there prayed unto as their patron and advocate with God [z]. This, saith Bellarmine, is a godly exposition, and conformable to the rites which the church observes in the consecration of temples. For sometimes the bishop, amongst the prayers belonging to such solemnities, professeth that he consecrateth the temple *in honorem Dei, et nomen talis, vel talis sancti,* "to the honour of God and name of such a saint," but directly to God under the title of *latria* to the memory of the saint under the title of *dulia.* But Bellarmine foresaw that their practice and form of consecration, well examined, might be enforced to confess more than this exposition implies, and upon this foresight hath framed another more wary plea to our indictment, for whose better success he had conceived his fourth proposition concerning the right use or end of building temples in these terms; *Sacræ domus non solum Deo sed etiam sanctis,* &c. "Sacred palaces or religious houses may be lawfully built and dedicated, not only to God, but unto saints." To bring in this conclusion in due place and order, not fathers and councils only, but holy scriptures also, must be wrested to countenance blasphemy; and blasphemy (having put on an impudent face upon presumption of their warrant) must man in such heathenish idolatry, as not so guarded would blush or be afraid to appear amongst Christian spectators. Solomon's temple, 965
saith he, was erected, not only to be an house of prayer or of sacrifices, but to be withal an habitation

[z] Bellarm. l. 3. de Beatitud. Sanct. cap. 4.

for the ark, as David's intendment (1 Chron. xvii. 1; Ps. cxxxii. 8.) and Solomon's accomplishing of it (2 Chron. v. 4.) bare manifest record. This being proved, which no man denieth, he thus assumes: "The same or greater honour is due to the sacred relics of Christ and his saints, than unto the Mosaical ark. *Ergo*, it is as lawful to erect a temple over the sepulchre of Christ as over the ark; and if over the sepulchre of Christ, then over the sepulchre of the saints: for there is one and the same reason in all; they differ only *secundum magis et minus*." He adds withal, (lest the people should be too scrupulous,) "that under the name of sacred relics he comprehends not only the bones or garments of saints, but the places where they suffered, where they dwelt, or did any famous act; as St. Cyprian had two sacred houses erected to him, one where he suffered, another where his body lay. Nay, such houses may be erected to saints in any place, only to preserve or enlarge their fame or memory, by retaining their images or names, to the intent that such as enter into them being put in mind of their duty by the image, or known name of the temple, may remember St. Peter, &c. and worship him in that place as their patron, and pray to him."

5. He hath brought the point to this issue for us: Temples may not be erected to any besides God *formaliter*, they may be erected to saints *materialiter*; that is, one and the selfsame sacred house, which is a true temple, and wherein sacrifices are offered up to God, may be erected in honour of this or that saint, but not as it is a temple. How then? As it is a sacred seat or receptacle of the saint's body, or as a monument of his fame: as (that he may justify one impiety by another) one and the same stone is both an altar and a tombstone, or sepulchre; an altar, inasmuch as they offer

sacrifice upon it unto God, a tombstone or sepulchre, inasmuch as it covers the body of some martyr. For (as he tells us for our learning) all altars are sepulchres or tombstones of saints. His final resolution is, "As the same stone is rightly dedicated to this or that saint, not in consideration that it is an altar, but in consideration that it is a sepulchre; so the same house, which is a temple, is truly dedicated to the saint, *non sub ratione templi, sed sub ratione basilicæ,* (not as a temple, but as a sacred palace, for the saint to rest or to be worshipped in.) Now, as it would be plain idolatry to erect altars to saints, but no idolatry to erect the same stones unto them which are altars; so it would be idolatry to erect temples to saints, under this respect, that they are temples, but no idolatry to erect the same houses unto them which are temples, not as they are temples, but as they are sacred palaces." Did the masons or carpenters, or such as set them a-work, about a thousand years ago, either lay the foundation, raise the walls, or put on the roofs of temples which they built to saints, by the rule of this distinction? If they did not, they committed gross idolatry. And, for aught I can gather from Bellarmine's Apology, he makes no scruple to confess that Roman catholics do still commit idolatry; all his care is to avert the imputation of committing this foul sin *quatenus ipsum,* or formally, as it is idolatry, that is, of polluting their souls with it by art and method, or of begetting it by express conceit of its essential difference: with which none but the schoolmen have especial acquaintance. Nor will I, for mine own part, charge them thus deeply for dedicating temples unto saints: it sufficeth me to prove that they are in this point plain downright idolaters. But I would 966
gladly, in the next place, be resolved how they can

acquit themselves from the imputation of committing idolatry, *quatenus* idolatry, in solemnizing vows to saints.

CHAP. XXX.

Solemn Vows are, by Confession of the Romish Church, Parts of that Worship which her Advocates call Latria. The Romish Church doth Worship Saints with solemn Vows, not by Accident only, but by direct Intendment.

1. It was a received doctrine in Aquinas's time, that vows were part of divine worship, or *cultus latriæ*. And whereas their custom of vowing obedience unto governors might seem to impeach them of giving that to men which belonged only to God; he divides vows into their matter and form, bequeathing the former part to glorified saints and living men, the latter only to God. This arbitrement betwixt God and living men (though such as the harlot before Solomon did plead for) likes [a]Bellarmine very well, because in vowing obedience to prelates or governors, men intend not to honour them, but God. On the contrary, he that vows a fast or pilgrimage unto saints, intends directly to honour them with religious worship. Unto this part of Aquinas's arbitrement Bellarmine will not subscribe, because Cjaetan before him had condemned Aquinas's resolution out of the mouths of preaching friars. For they, whilst they profess or promise the material part of their vow to men, tender the formal parts as directly to saints as unto God: "I vow to God, to St. Mary, and all the saints, that I will faithfully obey my governor." Cajetan's answer to the difficulty proposed is so slight, that it seemeth he cared not much if there had been no practitioners in this kind, or that their practice might want patrons.

[a] Lib. 3. c. 9. de Cultu Sanctorum.

Somewhat notwithstanding he was to say for fashion's sake; but his distinction is so acute, that indeed he denies any vows or promises to be truly made unto saints, as they are reasonable creatures, or for their internal excellency.

2. Bellarmine, to avoid this scandal, avoucheth it as a general agreement amongst all catholics, that they make promises as directly and truly unto saints as unto God. For if it be lawful to build sacred palaces, to erect sepulchres, and burn lamps before them, why should it not be as lawful to make solemn promises unto them? Thus one impiety being allowed and admitted into their church, must in charity approve another. Now every promise that is made to God, or saints deceased, is a formal vow, as he very well declares; nor can the church, by his acknowledgment, make the same plea in this case as in the former, that their vows are directed only unto God, though in memory and honour of the saints; for they are terminated jointly and directly unto God and to the saints. Here, methinks, they should invoke the aid of some saint or other to untie this knot, which he vainly thinks will untie itself by the former distinction. "The promise," saith he, "is indeed one and the same, but is not made after one and the same manner: they bind themselves unto God in token of their thankfulness towards him as the fountain of all good, and in recognition of blessings received from him as from the first author of all things. And, by this apprehension, or recognition, solemn promises made to him become *cultus latriæ*, proper acts of divine worship. But they bind themselves unto saints only in sign of their thankfulness 967
towards them as mediators or intercessors, by whose favour they receive blessings from God; and this

acknowledgment of their subordination unto God makes the same vow or solemn promise unto them to be but *cultus duliæ.* But the question was, whether solemn vows be not essential parts of *latriæ;* and if such they be, (as most of their church do hold them to be,) no mental respect or consideration of such as make, allow, or authorize them, can transform them into *cultus duliæ.* Besides, the distinction is naught: this great champion did either evidently misapply it to this difficulty, or else did much amiss in not applying it to the former; for might he not as well have said, they erected temples or offered sacrifice to saints in sign of thankfulness to them as mediators or intercessors, but unto God only as to the first fountain of blessings received?

3. It is confessed by our adversaries that the name of *vow* in sacred writ or dialect always imports a promise made to God, and yet they think it no idolatry to perform that religious service unto saints which the Holy Spirit hath appropriated unto God; because the canon of scripture was accomplished before the custom of vowing unto saints begun (or rather, the authority of it was abandoned by introduction of this custom, if not before). This reply seems to insinuate, that if God's Spirit had committed aught to writing since vows were enacted as parts of religious worship due unto saints deceased, he would have fitted his language to their custom. However, this answer takes but a part of our objection, though more by much than this Goliath was able to deal with. For we argue not only from the use of the word in scripture, but from the reason why it is so used. Now the reason why vows in scripture are appropriated unto God, is, because they are a more immediate and especial part of his worship than sacrifices are. He that offered legal sacrifices of

his cattle, or of the fruits of the earth, did thereby testify his gratitude unto God, as unto the supreme owner of these, and sole author of all other blessings; and as unto him which gave man power to gather substance. But he that vowed unto the Lord did acknowledge him to be the searcher of the heart, the just avenger of perfidious negligence, the bountiful rewarder of fidelity and diligence in his service. Hence it was, that legal sacrifices were ofttimes the matter of religious vows[b]. The form of religious worship or service, and the immediate end of such sacrifices, was performance of the vows; whose neglect plenty of sacrifices could not recompense. But fidelity in performance of what was lawfully vowed did please God without the offering of sacrifice. And whether the vow were conceived out of gratitude unto God for benefits past, or out of sorrow for sin, or former ingratitude, the religious observance of it was a true part of that *living sacrifice*, or *reasonable service*[c], which our apostle requires at our hands, as the pattern or prototypon of Levitical offerings. May we then offer any part of our reasonable service to any other besides God, unto whom only his people were to offer legal sacrifices? The apprehension of greater excellency in God than in the saints can no more alter the nature of the service, than the different titles of the king and his nobles do alter the nature of the debt or tenor of the obligation wherein we stand bound to him and them jointly. Now Romish votaries bind themselves by one and the same solemn act to God and the saints jointly. And is it possible that the performance of one and the same act should be *dulia* in respect of the one, and *latria* in respect of the other? Rather, as sometimes it falls out, that one of meanest place

[b] See Psalm l. 7, &c. and 14. [c] Rom. xii. 1.

968 may be principal creditor in bonds jointly made to him and others, so in some cases, as in vows of virginity solemnly made to God and to the blessed Virgin jointly, of pilgrimage to saints, (whom they conceive as special patrons of those places,) the saints shall have the principal interest in the votaries' affections.

4. The Fathers [d] in the second Nicene council, and others more ancient, whose authority they pretended for establishing that abominable decree (as one of our historians, many years before Luther was born, doth censure it) concerning image-worship, did divide adoration into two parts, external and internal.

1. The external (as they describe it by note of submission or emphatical expression of affection) they did assign unto images.

2. The internal adoration, or adoration in spirit, which they call *latria*, they appropriated unto God. And of this internal adoration, or *latria*, they make intercession or nuncupation of vows essential parts. But Bellarmine, after he had proved by authority and reason that solemn vows are parts of *latria*, and after he had given it us for granted by their whole church that the worship of *latria* is proper only unto God, finally attempts to share this worship of *latria* (which is a great deal more indivisible than was our Saviour's garment) between God and his saints. But sooner shall the Jesuits be able to teach an art of di-

[d] Subdit statim Tharasius ex Anastasio rationem. Quid enim aliud est, quam honoris alicui exhibiti veluti emphasis, adoratio? Latria vero nequaquam: ac si dicat, ideo adorare licet, quia adoratio est emphasis, hoc est symbolum et signum interioris cultus, et submissionis et tale signum imaginibus præberi potest. Latriam vero tribuere nequaquam licet. Nam cum hæc sit servitus in spiritu, et non in solo signo consistat, imagini soli, quæ non sentit, non potest exhiberi. Subjungit: Neque etiam licebit προσεύξασθαι (nempe imagines) quod est proprie Deum adorare. Verbum enim προσεύχω deprecari, vota nuncupare, vel peragere significat: quod soli Deo fieri potest.—Vasquez, lib. 2. de Adoratione, disput. 8. c. 12. num. 367.

viding indivisibilities, or of setting unity at variance with itself, than to justify this division, or sharing of vows betwixt God and his saints. We shall be ready to justify and maintain these inferences against them (if need shall require, or occasion be offered) by logical remonstrance. If the worship of *latria*, and, in particular, the nuncupation of vows, be proper only unto God, then he, or they, or whosoever they be, every person to whom *latria* or nuncupation of vows is solemnly tendered, (either alone, or jointly unto God,) is a god in their esteem that so tender or make them. But the Roman catholic doth directly and solemnly offer his vows to St. Dominick, St. Francis, and St. Bennet, &c. Therefore St. Dominick, in his divinity, is a god, St. Francis a god, St. Bennet a god : so is every saint to whom he makes his vows jointly with God. To say they acknowledge the three Persons in the blessed Trinity to be a greater God than all or any of these persons mentioned, as it cannot excuse them from idolatry, though it were true; so neither can it in their divinity be absolutely true, but only in part. It is true in respect of the apprehension or esteem of divine powers which is seated only in the brain, untrue in respect of the esteem or religious respect of divine powers which is seated in the heart or affection.

CHAP. XXXI.

That the Apprehension of different Excellencies in God and the Saints deceased cannot prevent the Contagion which Men's Souls are naturally apt to take, by making solemn Prayers and Vows jointly to God and to the Saints.

1. RELIGION, as Bellarmine well observeth, consisteth not in the apprehension or speculative acknowledgment of excellency in the party worshipped, but the inclination of the will or affection. The for

is as the warrant, the latter as the execution. And as sentence may be often given, but not executed; so may this apprehension be in the understanding without the inclination of the will or affection; as greatest
969 schoolmen have not been always devoutest saints. Or again, as many things are acted upon presumption of some custom, without just or express warrant of law; so the inclination of the will (in which the nature of religious worship, in their divinity, consists) doth often prevent the distinct or right apprehension of the understanding; as many things are often most affected, sometime or other by all of us, which the understanding, seasonably consulted, would not esteem the worthiest of our best affection. And is there any likelihood that he which conceives a vow in one and the same thought, and professeth it with one and the same breath, jointly to God, to the blessed Virgin, and to other saints, should scholastically distinguish their several excellencies or proper titles, and proportion the degrees of several worships to them? The very terms whereby they express them as *latria*, *dulia*, *hyperdulia*, argue only difference in the apprehension of the object, no diversity of internal habits or graces in the heart, much less diverse inclinations of the will, or elevations of the mind and spirit, wherein religious worship doth consist. Or admit the apprehension of God's excellencies and the saints' were always express and distinct, and had several degrees or ranks of internal affection, exactly proportioned unto them, and expressly intended in the conception or first profession of the vow; it is no way credible, that our speculative conceits, or apprehensions of the understanding, should carry their correspondent affections so level and parallel in the practice or performance, as they should not intermingle, or one cross another.

We see in other cases of common life, wherein the danger in all likelihood is much less, how quickly our affections flag in pursuit of those marks whereto our soaring contemplations did first direct them. No man's heart, in his first aim, is set on money for itself, but as it is the *viaticum* to some better end. And yet how rare a thing is it to see a man much acquainted with this metal, not to affect it as his god, to whose service he consecrates his best intentions? True felicity is the centre whereto all our thoughts do naturally sway; but most men's cogitations are usually drenched in the dregs of misery and baseness, being drawn awry or pulled down by the contagious filth which their senses have sucked in from too much familiarity with their natural objects.

2. And shall not the affectionate apprehension of such excellency as these men ascribe unto saints, whom they conceit as live spectators of their inward thoughts and outward carriage, get much greater attractive force than gold or pearl can have over their souls; these being daily poured out unto them in prayers, in vows, and other enticing issues of devotion; especially, seeing their worship, of what kind soever, is not intended only as a mean or passage to the worship of God, but as the mark or scope of that religious affection which they call *dulia?* Or admitting there were a twofold affection or inclination of the will, (as they imagine,) it were impossible that this inferior one, which they call *dulia,* seizing so heartily upon the saints, should not interrupt the other's flight towards God, and mispersuade men that his worship did consist in devotion towards them; as men are drawn as it were in a dream to think felicity is seated in those means which are subordinate and subservient to it. Finally, it would so fall out in this case especially, as by corruption of nature it generally doth in others, *com-*

munia negliguntur, "the common good, though most magnified, is most neglected;" and, *qui multis benefacit, a nemine gratiam reportat*, "public benefactors, though their bounty extend in large measure to each
970 particular, are less remembered or respected, than such as gratify us in our private superfluous desires, though perhaps to the prejudice of others' necessities." [e] Thus, howsoever the Divine excellency, as well in respect of itself, as of the benefits flowing from it to all mankind, might still be most admired in every man's speculative apprehension or conceit; yet, inasmuch as he is good to all without respect of persons, few or none will respect him so much in their affections as otherwise they would, if every one may have his supposed private benefactors, or the inhabitants of several places their peculiar patrons in heaven. The distinction of *dulia* and *latria*, though ministered fasting to such as vow fasts or pilgrimages unto saints, will not purge their hearts (especially if they be rude and illiterate) from that gross humour which Tully observed in the Alabandenses, or Cominæus in the inhabitants of Pavia. If such as builded them cities, or endowed their churches with lands, may have their images, curiously wrought and adorned, to be daily saluted with the same outward signs of submission which they tender unto God or Christ, the Wise Man's observation[f] is not out of date in respect of these latter days. And St. Augustine[g] tells us, that the erection of a stately temple unto Jupiter eclipsed the honour of Summanus, who had been held the more honourable god before.

[e] See sect. 3. cap. 16.

[f] Wisd. xiv.

[g] Sic apud ipsos legitur: Romani veteres nescio quem Summanum, cui nocturna fulmina tribuebant, coluerunt magis quam Jovem, ad quem diurna fulmina pertinerent. Sed postquam Jovi templum insigne ac sublime constructum est, propter ædis dignitatem sic ad eum multitudo confluxit, ut vix inveniatur, qui Summani nomen, quod audire jam non potest, se saltem legisse meminerit.—Aug. lib. 4. de Civitate Dei, cap. 23.

CHAP. XXXII.

A Parallel between the affectionate Zeal which the Jews did bear unto Moses and his Writings, and the like Zeal which the Romanists bear unto Saints deceased and their Legends. That the Romanist's Zeal is obnoxious to greater Hazard of Miscarriage, and the Miscarriage of his Affection more dangerous, by his daily Practice of worshipping Images.

1. WHETHER images of the Godhead, of the Trinity, or of the several persons, of angels or other invisible substances, may be lawfully made; whether of these or other images any lawful, profitable, or pious use be granted to Christians which was denied unto the Jews, are parcels of that main question, Whether the second commandment, according to our division, were moral or ceremonial; of which (if God permit) in the exposition of the Decalogue. In the mean time it is to us, it ought to be to the whole catholic church, a great presumption that the commandment is one and the same to both Jew and Gentile, of as great authority now as ever, in that the primitive church did not re-enter upon this ancient liberty, if at any time it had been free to bow down to graven images, to adore the pictures of God's appearances or of men deceased. The use of images in churches or sacred liturgies was held so incompatible with Christian worship of God in spirit and truth, that when Adrian intended to honour Christ as a God, he commanded temples to be erected without images. But his good purpose wanting effect, the temples so erected did bear his name, not Christ's or any other god's, as wanting images to take possession of them. And not their names only, but their revenues might quickly escheat unto the emperor, without some visible patron to lay some claim unto them. Varro's testimony ratifies the wise man's observation in Rome-

heathen, and Lampridius' in Rome-Christian. Whether we begin our accompt from the law of nature amongst
971 the nations, or from the promulgation of the gospel, *images were not from the beginning*, Wisd. xiv. 12. But after the church, which, during the time of her infancy, had kept her virginity unspotted, began in her full age to play the harlot in vowing, in praying, in erecting altars and temples to saints; the instinct of her impurity did lead her to use images, as secular wantons do lascivious pictures for provoking lust. They were rather the fuel, than the beginning or first kindling of Rome-Christian's spiritual whoredom. Her downfall into these dregs of idolatry, or foul acts of more than brutish bestiality, was the just reward of her wantonness with the saints, after she had been betrothed to Christ. That which she falsely pretends for her excuse is usually true of secular adulterers or adulteresses. These, for the most part, delight in pictures for their prototypon's sake, with whose live beauty they have been taken. And yet many, deprived of their minions' real presence by death or other separation, have been so besotted with doting love of their resemblances, as to loathe the company of their lawful consorts. Howbeit, no unchaste, doting lover did ever tie his fancy with so many loveknots unto his mistress's picture, as the Romanist doth his soul and spirit unto the images which he adores. The main bond is religion itself, the lesser cords are kissing, bowing, kneeling, embracements, and pouring forth his very heart before them. Besides all these, he suffers this peculiar disadvantage in respect of secular dotards: these commonly have seen their feature whose true resemblances they joy in; the Romanist never had any acquaintance, by sight or other sense, with the persons of those saints unto whose images he makes all this

love, but frames these material and visible representations of them out of his own brain or fancy. These and the like circumstances, were they duly examined by the rules of true philosophy, or known experiment how quickly the pursuit of ordinary means doth in most cases alienate our desires from the end unto which we seek to be directed by them; it would appear to be without the compass of any moral possibility, that the images, which these men make their visible spokesmen unto the saints, should not play false with both parties, and betroth the souls of doting suitors unto themselves, or rather unto the devil, whose stales indeed they are.

2. But what if some honestly-minded understanding papist should solemnly swear unto me, that he loves St. Peter, not his image, or St. Peter himself much better than the image, which he loves only for his sake, shall not his religious oath be taken before any man's conjecture concerning his own affections? Can any search his heart better than his own spirit can? I will in charity believe that he speaks and swears as he verily thinks and is persuaded. But if, out of like Christian charity, (though not towards me, yet towards himself,) he will give me leave to unfold some practick fallacies, with which his sceptic catechisers seldom meddle, I shall give him just reason to mistrust his own thoughts or persuasions, as altogether groundless, and uncapable of any solid truth. Can the most devout Franciscan or Benedictine conceit either the truth or fervency of his love unto St. Francis or St. Bennet more strongly than the latter Jews did the integrity of their zeal to Moses? For that Moses' sake, which they had made unto themselves, they would have died with greater patience than a friar could suffer imprisonment for St. Francis. But from the

true Moses and his doctrine no heathen under the sun were so far alienated in affection as were his successors in place, and kinsmen according to the flesh, the sons of Aaron and Levi. To have enstamped their souls
972 and affections with his true and lively image, (whereto alone so great love might be safely tendered,) the only way had been to have laid his sacred rules unto their hearts, to have worshipped God in spirit and in truth as he did. Quite contrary, they fastened their proud affections unto that false picture or image of Moses which had surprised their humorous fancies before they had seriously consulted their hearts, or examined their imaginations by the rules of his doctrine.

3. And whether we speak of adultery carnal or spiritual, the first acts of both are always committed within us; between the fancy or imagination and the corrupt humour which sets it a working: every predominant humour or corruption of the heart delights to have its picture drawn in the brain. The fancy is a shop of devices, to adorn it; and so adorned, it grows mad with love of its own representation, as Narcissus did with his shadow. Thus corruption, of heart and humorous fancy pollute each other before they can be polluted by any external consort, whose use is only to accomplish the delight conceived, or to confirm this internal combination between the heart and the brain: and this service every visible or sensible object, well suited to delightful fancies, successfully performs. As, imagine the Jews might have had some gaudy picture of Moses in the temple, whereunto they might have made daily profession of their love, by kissing, kneeling, and other like tokens, which the Romanists use unto the relics and images of every supposed saint; how would this practice have fortified

their foolish imaginations! Every kiss bestowed upon his picture would have been as a wedding-ring or visible sacrament, for confirming the internal league between their corrupt affections and humorous fancies. But image-worship was a brood of impiety so base and ugly, that the devil durst not so much as mention the match between it and the latter synagogue, though he have espoused the modern Romish church unto it. Howbeit, (so inevitable are his enticements, unless we abandon all familiarity with his visible baits when we come to do our homage to God,) he hath stolen away the Jews' hearts from God and his servant Moses, by drawing them to such dalliance with the Book of the Law as the papists use with the pictures of saints. Kissing and solemn adoration of Moses his writings, upon no other occasion than for testification of their allegiance to God by reverencing them, are held no acts of wantonness, no whorish tricks, by the faithless synagogue. And, to speak the truth, her protestations of chaste and loyal love to God and his servant Moses, will sway more with every indifferent arbitrator than any oath or other assurance which the Romish church can make of her fidelity to Christ, or sincere respect of those saints whose lifeless images she adores with no less devotion than the Jew doth the dead letter of the law. For, though no protestation may be taken against a fact, yet the fact is more apparently idolatrous in the Romanist, inasmuch as bowing down to carved images, kissing or worshipping them, are expressly forbidden by Moses his law, as acts of open and palpable adultery. The last and most miserable sanctuary whereto these malefactors, closely pursued, are glad to betake themselves, is, that this commandment, *Thou shalt not bow down to them*, was merely ceremonial, and concerned the Jews only, not

Christians. Our Saviour's manifestation in the flesh hath manifested the synagogue's pretended love to God and his law to have been but carnal, false, and idolatrous, being indeed a love only of their own humorous
973 superstitious fancies. Now the symptoms and signs, subsequent as well as antecedent, being the same in the Romish church, sufficiently testify her disease to be the same, but more dangerous, because it is *morbus complicatus*. Her whole religion we may, without offence to God, or wrong to it, though not without some distaste to her children, fitly define to be a mixture or complication of Jewish vainglorious delight in worthy ancestors, and of heathenish, gross, and palpable superstitious worship of their images in whose memory she so delights. The brazen legendaries, by how much more they are in other cases uncapable of any trust, yield us so much greater plenty of canonical proof for evincing the truth of this definition or observation concerning the original matter of Rome-Christian's disease. So great is the multitude of her saints, so prodigious are the manifold miracles wherewith she graceth every saint in particular whilst he lived, or his image after his death, and all avouched with such confidence, that if the old Roman which cut a whetstone in pieces with his penknife were to arbitrate between the legendaries, the latter Jewish rabbins, and the poetical encomiasts of heathen gods or heroics, and were bound to reward every one according to his deserts, he could not bestow less than nine parts of ten upon the legendaries. The symptom notwithstanding of this vanity hath been perpetual cruelty, as well in the Romanist as in the Jew. The distempered zeal which the one bare unto a Moses of his own making and magnification did empoison his soul with deadly hate of the true prototypon exhibited in presence of life, and of his dis-

ciples, which were the live images of Moses and Abraham, Abraham's sons as truly by real kindness of holy life as by descent of body. The flame of the other's wild and ill-kindled love to such dead images of Christ and his saints, as he hath fashioned to please his fancy, hath caused his stony heart to boil over with unstaunchable bloody malice against the live-images of Christ and true successors of his saints, against all, within these thousand years, that would not run a whoring with them after their imaginations. As Antiochus Epiphanes was an illustrious type of the Roman antichrist, so his short and furious persecution of the orthodoxal Jews was but a map (though an exquisite one) of the papacy's continual jealous rage against all that will not bow their knees unto the idols, or offer sacrifices upon the altars which they have erected to unknown gods in holy temples.

4. This carnal vainglorious love, whether unto imaginary patriarchs in the Jew, or to fancied saints in the Romanist, did never swell so much in either as when themselves were most unlovely in the sight of God and his saints. Both begun to be most affected with their worthy ancestors' praises when themselves were least praiseworthy. As it commonly falls out in other cases, from a secret instinct or working of hypocrisy, they sought to stuff their fancies with imaginations of their holiness from whom they carnally descended; that as fresh colours bring some comfort to sore eyes, or gentle plaisters ease to festered wounds, so the reflex of their ancestors' integrity upon their hearts might in some sort allay the smart of their galled consciences. And their consciences by this means finding ease, afterwards being lulled asleep with the continual sweet sound of others' praises, they dreamed the substance of that holiness to be rooted in

their hearts, whose shadow or representation floated in their brains: [h]as the philosopher observes that a drop
974 of sweet phlegm tickling the taste in slumber or light sleep, makes men think they swallow honey, or that they are glutted with sweetmeats. For wedging in this self-deceiving fancy, and perpetuating the pleasant phrensy whereinto the Jews and Romanists had cast themselves, the visible monuments of prophets and saints did the old serpent very great service. To embolden the Jew in cruel practices against our Saviour and his disciples, he could devise no fitter sophism than to employ them in adorning the tombs, or other like testifications of love unto the prophets' relics, whom their fathers had slain, being by this means persuaded that they loved the prophets themselves, and their doctrine, much better than their fathers had done, they could not easily mistrust their hate of our Saviour for unjust. For if he had been a true prophet, would not they which loved all other prophets, and justified them before their fathers, have loved him and maintained his doctrine? The conclusion of these fallacious collections was, that from this vain confidence, or presumed freedom from guilt of their fathers' sins, they came by degrees to make up the full measure of them, in crucifying the hope of Israel. The like success hath the same fallacy had over Rome-Christian: she, by adoring the images and relics, by lavish garnishing the monuments of those saints which Rome-heathen had persecuted with fire and sword, hath been set over by the great tempter to accomplish and consolidate that mystery of iniquity, whose shape or surface the irreligious tyranny of Rome-heathen had drawn in bloody lines. For mistaking this strong internal affection

[h] In Libro de Somno et Vigilia.

which she bare unto her own fancy (and by consequent to saints of her own imagination, and to their relics) for an undoubted pledge of great zeal unto that truth which they professed, her conscience became so seared with this wildfire, that she persecuted all that did control her, without remorse or scruple, as greater enemies to religion than heretics or infidels. And thus the Romanist, as well as the Jew, by rejecting the written word for the rule of life, has kindled the Almighty's wrath and indignation by those very sacrifices, which, without his warrant, they instituted to appease it. Both of them presumed their zealous costs upon saints' monuments should either supererogate for their predecessors' sins, or clear all reckonings between God and themselves for any wrong done to his servants. This triumphant confidence in exercising remorseless cruelty upon all (without exception) that contradict her idolatrous doctrine, upon presumption that they are sacrilegious contemners of God's saints, is that which the prophetical apostle terms *drunkenness with the blood of saints: she hath drunk so deep of the cup of abominations, that she takes blood for milk, and feeds on it, as on the food of life* Thus much of the original, the effect and symptoms of Romish phrenetical zeal to images.

CHAP. XXXIII.

By what Means the public Worship of Images was finally ratified in the Romish Church: of the unadvised Instructions which Gregory the Great gave unto Austin the Monk for winning the Pagan-English to the Profession of Christianity.

1. It is a very observable observation of some reverend and learned writers of this age[i], that

[h] See Homily against the Peril of Idolatry, part 2.

975 pope should make the first step or entry to his œcumenical supremacy by stickling for images against the emperor. God, methinks, by the circumstances of the story, and this brief [j] comment upon it, would give us to understand, that to serve graven images was to fall down and worship Satan; seeing the admission of their worship into the church gave the pope livery *de seisin* of that heritage which Satan proffered to our Saviour, upon condition he would fall down and do him homage for it. The devil had too much wit, either to tempt our Saviour to adore images in that age, wherein this service was so detested by the whole seed of Abraham, or to solicit professed Christians to adore his person immediately, seeing our Saviour had so foiled him in this attempt. His best policy to bring the visible church to acknowledge this allegiance to him was to appoint dumb images (with which he had been so well acquainted in time of gentilism) his feoffees in trust. If any inquire more particularly of the opportunities which he took for bringing this match about, they were in part these:

j Phocas igitur, ut præmissum est, extincto Mauritio ejusque filiis, Romanorum regnum invadens, per octo annorum curricula principatus est. Hic, rogante papa Bonifacio statuit sedem Romanæ et apostolicæ ecclesiæ, caput esse omnium ecclesiarum, quia ecclesia Constantinopolitana primam se omnium ecclesiarum scribebat. Idem, alio papa Bonifacio petente, jussit in veteri fano, quod Pantheon vocabant, ablatis idololatriæ sordibus, ecclesiam beatæ semper virginis Mariæ, et omnium martyrum fieri, ut ubi quondam omnium non deorum, sed dæmonum cultus erat, ibi deinceps omnium fieret memoria sanctorum. Paullus Warnefridus de Langobar. lib. 4. c. 37. Vide Forcat. lib. 1. p. 33. It is likely Phocas did consecrate his temple upon the same motives that Domitian did his to the heathen gods. Verisimile est Domitianum nefandis criminibus spurcatum elui curasse fanorum molitionibus. Nam callidæ fuit crudelitatis, ita ut lenitatem tum maxime simularet, cum erat cruciaturus aliquos. Fratris quoque Titi imperatoris mortem accelerasse traditur, quo uno nihil clementius fuit, nihil generosius. —Forcatulus de Gallis, lib. 3. pag. 320. edit. 1595.

2. As in secular states we see those factions which have been expelled the court with indignation at one gate, to wind themselves in again by gracious favour of new alliance at another; especially after the impression of their vile practices in most men's memories be abated; or after courtiers begin (as within the compass of one age they often do) to change the old fashion of contention: so that image service, which the primitive church had abandoned as the liturgy of hell, did, out of an affected desire in Christians to hold correspondency, or to symbolize with the heathen barbarians which had seated themselves throughout Europe, find opportunity to gain readmission into temples, to bear the same place and sway in the courts of God, that they had done in the synagogue of Satan. The execution of such instructions as Gregory the Great gave unto Austin the monk for winning the Pagan-English unto Christianity, would in any indifferent politician's judgment (that duly considers the estate wherein these western kingdoms then stood) bring over Christians unto paganism, or occasion these converts to propagate a medley of both religions to their posterity, whose religion, being conquerors, was likely to continue longest. Greg. l. xi. Ep. 76. *Cum vero vos Deus omnipotens ad reverendissimum virum fratrem nostrum Augustinum episcopum perduxerit, dicite ei quid diu mecum de causa Anglorum cogitans tractavi videlicet quia fana idolorum destrui in eadem gente minime debeant, sed ipsa, quæ in eis sunt, idola destruantur. Aqua*[k] *benedicta fiat, in eisdem fanis*

[k] The use of holy waters, as it seems, was first borrowed from the heathens, and in process of time perverted from a civil to a magical ceremony. Ferunt vulgo Tolosates Exuperium pro muris concionantem, lustrali aqua sparsos Vandalos terruisse, ac fugasse: quod præterire non potui, etsi severiores fabulis adnume-

aspergatur, altaria construantur, reliquiæ ponantur: quia si fana eadem bene constructa sunt, necesse est ut a cultu dæmonum in obsequium veri Dei debeant commutari: ut dum gens ipsa eadem fana sua non videt destrui, de corde errorem deponat, et Deum verum cognoscens ac adorans, ad loca quæ consuevit, familiarius concurrat. Et quia boves solent in sacrificio dæmonum multos occidere, debet his etiam hac de re aliqua solemnitas immutari: ut die dedicationis vel
976 *natalitiis sanctorum martyrum, quorum illic reliquiæ ponuntur, tabernacula sibi circa easdem ecclesias quæ ex fanis commutatæ sunt, de ramis arborum faciant, et religiosis conviviis solemnitatem celebrent. Nec diabolo jam animalia immolent, sed ad laudem Dei in esum suum animalia occidant, et donatori omnium de satietate sua gratias referant: ut dum eis aliqua exterius gaudia reservantur, ad interiora gaudia consentire facilius valeant. Nam duris mentibus simul omnia abscidere, impossibile esse non dubium est: quia is qui locum summum ascendere nititur, necesse est ut gradibus vel passibus, non autem saltibus elevetur. Sic Israëlitico populo in Ægypto Dominus se quidem innotuit: sed tamen eis sacrificiorum usus, quos diabolo solebant exhibere, in cultu proprio reservavit, ut eis in sacrificio suo animalia immolare præciperet: quatenus cor mutantes, aliud de sacrificio amitterent, aliud retinerent; ut etsi ipsa essent animalia quæ offerre consueverant, verumtamen Deo hæc et non idolis immo-*

rent. Plane constat veteres genere quodam cæremoniæ aquam et ignem adhibuisse, cum aliquos extrudere aut arcere vo ebant a suo consortio. Unde exulibus aqua et igni interdicebatur jure civili: et hodie usurpatur in iis, quibus sacrorum communium usu rite verbis conceptis interdicitur. Idque adnotavit Servius,—" alii fontemque ignemque ferebant Velati lino, et verbena tempora vincti." Itaque Antistes inter commilitones non omnino Christi religione imbutos veterem ritum minime noxium ad arcendos hostes pro tempore retinuit.—Forcatulus, lib. 6. fol. 856.

lantes, jam sacrificia ipsa non essent. Hæc igitur dilectionem tuam prædicto fratri necesse est dicere, ut ipse in præsenti illic positus, perpendat qualiter omnia debeat dispensare.

3. A great part (I dare avouch) of his advice had no pattern either in the apostles' doctrine or practice of the primitive church. The warrant itself which he pretends from God's example in the Old Testament (though what was Gregory the Great, if we compare him with the Almighty, that he should usurp the same authority?) is merely counterfeit. God did not only permit the Jews to offer sacrifice for the hardness of their hearts, but commanded oblations as part of his service. He required them of Abraham, yea of Abel, before the devil sought them of any heathens. Nor had he ever sought them unless God had required them first; for the devil is God's ape, and always solicits men either to institute such rites unto him as he knows God requires, or (which is an equivalent sin) to obtrude such unto God, as for the time present he hath abandoned. To have offered such sacrifices (then) unto that Holy One, as Gregory there commands, had been the same sin (only inverted) as to have offered sacrifice before Christ's coming unto idols. And yet we may presume that Gregory the Great was not the most indiscreet reformer of paganism amongst all the Roman bishops or prelates throughout Europe, that lived during the time that those barbarians invaded Christendom, or settled themselves amongst ancient Christians. Nor did the peculiar disposition of the English draw him to permit greater liberty unto them, than he, his predecessors, or successors either were enforced, or thought fit to grant unto other pagans, whose spiritual salvations they sought, or whose temporal arms they feared. And somewhat in both respects (I grant)

might lawfully be tolerated, which to continue after such extraordinary occasions ceased, was heresy in doctrine, and idolatry in practice. For the retaining of those laws as necessary injunctions for all ages, which the apostles had commended as expedient only for late converted Gentiles, was by orthodoxal antiquity adjudged no less than an heresy in the sect of Nazarenes. To have suffered an historical use of saints' images in temples, might, upon peculiar circumstances of times, have argued religious discretion in church governors; but to permit their daily worship, upon these mentioned or like occasions, was from the beginning most unexpedient and unlawful. To continue or authorize it so begun is idololatrical. And yet, as well the very arguments which some pretend for their religious use, as the circumstances of the time wherein their broken title prevailed, persuades me they could never have gotten readmission into the church,
977 but from such indulgence to heathen converts as Gregory granted to our forefathers. Gregory himself as well blames their superstition for worshipping images in the church, as Serenus for breaking the images because they had been worshipped. He aggravates his fault (nor doth that mistaken example of Hezekiah's crushing the brazen serpent any way warrant the exercise of Serenus' zeal) that he had his habitation amongst the Gentiles, *quibus pro lectione pictura est,* lib. ix. Epist. 11. et lib. vii. Epist. 110. But now that custom, by the analogy of laws politic, hath confirmed their ancient dignities unto them, the lawfulness of their religious service is by their worshippers justified partly from reason, partly from instances of like practices in the patriarchs and other godly men.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Of the Disagreements betwixt the Jesuits themselves in what Manner Images may be worshipped.

1. BELLARMINE, and his second, Sacroboscus, with most others of Aquinas's later followers, will have the worship or adoration to be terminated immediately to the image, and accomplished in this termination, although, so terminated, it redound unto the honour of the party whose image it is. "That is," as they express themselves, "although they worship the image of God or a saint only with reference unto God or the saint, yet they neither worship the image of God with the same worship wherewith they worship God immediately in spirit, nor the image of any saint with the same worship which they would exhibit to the saint himself were he present." This explication they further illustrate by this similitude: "As to be sent in embassage by a king puts greater honour upon the ambassador for the time being than would fit his mere personal worth, and yet invests him not with honour royal; so the image of God, for the reference it hath unto his majesty, is worthy of greater honour than the stuff or workmanship is capable of, yet uncapable of that honour which is due to God[1]." Some of them add withal, that "albeit the actual worship which they perform unto the image may perhaps proceed from the same habit of *latria* wherewith they worship God, yet it doth not follow in their opinion that they should worship the image *cultu latriæ*. The acts, whatsoever the habit be, are much different, and must be expressed in diverse terms; especially seeing in this subject, not only error itself, but every least show of

[1] Sacroboscus in Defens. Decret. Trident. Concil. et sentent. Bellarm. par. 1. pag. 102.

error, ought with carefulness to be avoided. *At in vitium ducit culpæ fuga, si caret arte.*" Their unscholastic wariness to avoid offence in the words wherewith they express their doctrine, draws these factions and their followers to commit real idolatry in the practice, as Vasquez copiously and very acutely proves against Bellarmine[m]. His arguments we shall, by God's assistance, be able to make good against any solution or evasion that can be brought by the cardinal's favourites. Sacroboscus would fain have said somewhat to them, but he had so accustomed himself to play the scoffing mimic with the reverend doctor Whitaker, that he could not leave his wonted lightness when he met with his fellow Jesuit. "Hate and love," saith he, "of diverse objects, as of good and evil, are from one and the same habit, and yet hate is not love, nor love hate." No more, in his opinion, would it follow, that we should worship God's image *cultu*
978 *latriæ*, albeit the act of worship proceed from the same habit wherewith we worship God himself. The grounds of his illustration have no coherence with the point which he intended to illustrate. We may rather thus retort: Though neither love be hate nor hate love, yet if the love of any spiritual good be truly religious, the hate of the contrary evil must needs be religious likewise, because they proceed from one and the same habit of religion. So if the acts wherewith we worship God's image, for the reference which it hath to him, proceed from the same habit of *latria* wherewith we worship God, men must of necessity worship the image as well as God *cultu latriæ*. The rules which Bellarmine and others set for worshipping images do by Vasquez his verdict teach the people

[m] Vasquez, lib. 2. disp. 8. c. 8, &c.

to act idolatry. And the method which Vasquez prescribes for ratification of this error is by [n]Sacroboscus his testimony so scholastic and hard, that ordinary capacities cannot follow it. Were it not the part of a wise religious moderator (such as the pope professeth himself to be) to cut off all occasion of subtle disputes about the manner of worshipping images, by utter abandoning the matter itself or substance about which they contend, or at the least to inhibit the people from all practice in this kind till their schoolmen could agree about the rules or pattern which they were to follow? None of them, I think, hold the worshipping of images to be in itself any necessary part of religion, but necessary only from the church's injunction. All the general that can be pretended for the conveniency of it, can no way countervail the danger that will necessarily ensue upon the practical mistakings of their schoolmen's prescripts: yet the one party must of necessity err in prescribing the manner how images must be worshipped. The manner, as Vasquez and some other more ancient think, is thus: "[o]It is

[n] Verum modus iste valde difficilis est, meoque judicio minime ordinarius.—Sacrobos. loc. citat.

[o] Quare et scite dicitur, quod utique adoratur imago, et non secundum quam volueris rationem, sed secundum eam, qua prototypon relucet in illa, unde etsi imago colitur, ratio tamen absolute ipsa non est, quod colatur; sed res repræsentata, ac in ea contenta, ratio adorationis est. Et quoniam sicut unum, de facto non est divisum ab alio, quoniam etsi prototypon absolute aliud ab imagine est, ut tamen in ea emicat, ab illa segregatum non est: ita nec amborum divisus est cultus aut adoratio, sed unus idemque utriusque est, sicut ex philosophorum placitis liquet. Si quidem tradunt unum eundemque motum ad imaginem, et ad rem cujus imago est, terminari; eo quod et unum ratio est alteri, ut unus integerque constituatur terminus, a quo et unus denominatur motus. Ergo non solum fatendum est, fideles in ecclesia adorare coram imagine, ut nonnulli ad cautelam forte loquuntur, sed et adorare imaginem, sine quo volueris scrupulo: quin et eo illam venerantur cultu, quo et prototypon ejus; propter quod, si illud habet adorari latria, et illa latria, si dulia, vel hyperdulia, et illa pariter ejusmodi cultu adoranda est.—Jacob. Naclantus Episcopus Clugiensis, in cap. 1. Ep. Pauli ad Rom. pag. 204. edit. 1567.

rightly said, that even the image is worshipped, and yet not worshipped after what manner we list, but inasmuch as the prototype is represented in it. Whence albeit the image be worshipped, yet is not the image itself the cause why it is worshipped, but the thing represented by it, and contained in it, is the cause or warrant of the adoration. And inasmuch as one of these is not altogether divided from the other, (for albeit the prototype be in itself one thing, and the image another, yet inasmuch as the prototype is conspicuous in the image, it is not segregated from it,) so the worship of them both is not divided, but is one and the same, as is apparent from the sentence of the philosophers[p]. For they teach, that one and the same motion is terminated to the image, and to the object whose image it is, by reason the subordination betwixt them is such as to make but one entire term of the motion, and the motion takes its unity or identity from the unity or identity of its term. Therefore it must be granted, that faithful people in the church do not only worship before the image, as some, desirous perhaps to speak cautelously, affirm, but that they worship the very image without further scrupulosity; and worship it they do with the selfsame worship wherewith they worship the prototype. Wherefore if the prototype be to be worshipped with *latria*, (as God is to be worshipped,) the image must be worshipped with *latria;* if the prototype be to be worshipped with *hyperdulia*, (as the blessed Virgin, by their doctrine, ought to be worshipped,) the image likewise is to be worshipped with *hyperdulia;* if the prototype be to be worshipped with *dulia*, (so ordinary saints, by their

p Surely Aquinas and Naclantus, with their followers, read Aristotle's book De Somno et Vigilia when themselves were in a dream; for he speaks only of the phantasms, and the objects represented by them. Vide Mirandulam.

doctrine, ought to be worshipped,) the image likewise must be worshipped with *dulia.*"

I have made this declaration somewhat more plain 979
in English than it is in Latin, and yet I think, if any English Roman catholic should adventure to practise image-worship by this author's rule, he should find Sacroboscus's words before cited, true; *Modus iste valde difficilis est;* "This manner of worshipping images is very hard to be observed, by the simple and ruder sort especially." But leaving this bishop Naclantus and his declaration to the censure of that [q] worthy and learned author of the Homilies concerning the peril of idolatry, (who, I take it, was a reverend bishop,) the manner of worshipping images which he took upon him to declare, as Vasquez (who hath most diligently read the diverse authors, and most accurately sifted their several opinions) telleth us, was both very well known and very ancient, according to the antiquity of image-worship and school divinity. His words, with the authors' names, avouched by him, I have here set down at large:

Pervulgata et antiqua theologorum sententia, quam ego veram existimo, est motum adorationis in imaginem, ita in ejus prototypon, et exemplar transire,

q "But Naclantus bloweth forth his blasphemous idolatry, willing images to be worshipped with the highest kind of adoration and worship: and lest such wholesome doctrine should lack authority, he groundeth it upon Aristotle, in his book *De Somno et Vigilia,* that is, Of Sleeping and Waking, as by his printed book, noted in the margin, is to be seen; whose impudent wickedness and idolatrous judgment I have therefore more largely set forth, that ye may (as Virgil speaketh of Sinon) of one know all these image-worshippers and idolaters, and understand to what point in conclusion the public having of images in temples and churches hath brought us; comparing the times and writings of Gregory the First with our days, the blasphemies of such idolaters as this instrument of Belial named Naclantus, is."—Homily against Peril of Idolatry, part 3.

et utrumque sub eandem venerationem cadere; ut nec sola cogitatione, imago per se sine illo, vel ab eo separata adorari possit: non solum quia necesse est propter exemplar, tanquam propter rationem remotam, sicut legatum propter regem, imaginem coli, sed quia qui imaginem adorat, in ea quoque et per eam exemplar, ut terminum et materiam proximam adorationis, necessario venerari debet. Hanc sententiam, ex theologis scholasticis tradiderunt Alex. 3. *p. q.* 30. *m.* 3. *art.* 3. *sect.* 1. *S. Thom.* 3. *p. q.* 25. *art.* 3, 4, 5. *Cajetanus et recentiores aliqui ibidem. Albr. in* 3. *d.* 9. *art.* 4. *Bonavent. eadem d. art.* 1. *q.* 2. *et q.* 4. *S. Thom. eadem d. q.* 1. *art.* 2. *q.* 2. *Richard. art. q.* 2. *et* 3. *Palud. q.* 1. *sect.* "*Inquirendo tam de his.*" *Capreol. q.* 1. *art.* 1. *conclus.* 2, 3. *art.* 3. *ad argumenta contra easdem conclusiones. Almain. q.* 1. *conclus.* 5. *Major.* 1. *qui de cruce Christi dicit, non esse terminum adorationis secundum se, sed ratione exemplaris: idemque de imagine dicere debet. Eandem sententiam secuti sunt Marsil. in* 3. *q.* 8. *art.* 2. *dub.* 2. *conclus.* 3. *Thom. Vuald. tom.* 3. *c.* 156. *num.* 6, 7. *Ferrariens.* 3. *contra Gentes, c.* 120. *sect.* "*Circa latriæ adorationem.*" *Sotus, lib.* 2. *de Just. q.* 4. *art.* 2. *in fine. Turrecremata in cap.* "*Venerabiles,*" *de consecrat. dict.* 3. *Antonius.* 3. *p. titulo* 12. *cap.* 9. *sect.* 4. *Hieronimus Angestus contra Lutherum cens.* 10. *ad.* 3. *objectionem Hæreticorum versiculo,* "*Hinc enim est colendi modus,*" *et inter Compendiaria dogmata. Clichtoveus in Propugnaculo ecclesiæ, lib.* 1. *c.* 10. *Jacobus Paiva. lib.* 9. *Orthodoxarum explicationum. sect.* "*At Kemnitius.*" *Franciscus Turrianus, lib.* 1. *pro canonibus Apostolorum, c.* 25. *et lib.* 3. *de dogmaticis Characteribus satis ante medium. Alphonsus de Castro adversus hæreses, verbo,* "*Adoratio.*" *De cujus modo loquendi, atque Almaini, qui fuit etiam*

Gregorii Magni, diximus disput. 6. *hujus lib. c.* 1. *et in hac disputatione c.* 12. *nonnihil dicemus. Vasquez, lib.* 2. *de Adoratione, disput.* 8. *c.* 3. *init.*

2. This opinion concerning the manner of worshipping images he strongly proves, first, by such councils, secondly, by such of the Fathers as favoured the worshipping of images; thirdly, by reasons effectual in his judgment amongst all such as himself was, that is, Roman catholics. For to worship them any other 980
way is by his collections superstitious and idololatrical. His arguments are all reducible to this common principle: that albeit every act of justice be not an act of religion, yet every act of religion and adoration in particular is an act of justice; for adoration is but a serious rendering of religious honour unto whom such honour is due. Now we cannot do justice to any lifeless or reasonless creature, although we consider it as the goods or possession of this or that man. A man may be wronged or disgraced in his goods or reasonless creatures, but they are altogether uncapable of right or wrong, of disgrace or respect. Nor was Tiberius's horse, though considered as Tiberius's horse, more capable of a consulship, or of the honour due unto a consul, than any other reasonless creature in Rome was. For the same reason, no reasonless or lifeless creature can in itself, though considered with its references, be capable of adoration. Whence Vasquez acutely thus infers: "Every image, however it be considered as an image (whether it be of St. Peter or of St. Paul), is still a lifeless creature, and therefore uncapable of any adoration, (of kneeling or bowing,) save only as it is coadored with the saint whose image it is." The major proposition, to wit, "No lifeless or reasonless creature is capable of adoration, but only of coadoration with some reasonable creature," he demon-

strates from the nature and definition of that act of religion wherein adoration consists: and this act of religion "is a will or desire of exhibiting such note and sign of submission to any excellent nature as is due unto the excellency of it. Adoration itself consists and is accomplished in these two: first, in the external sign (as bowing or inclination of the body); secondly, in the internal affection answering to the sign. Now as the outward sign doth notify an affection of submission and service, so the mind whence it proceeds ought to be so qualified that the adoration be sincere, not feigned. And this sincere mind or unfeigned desire of notifying submission or service can only be placed upon him whom we apprehend as our superior, endued with some excellency which we want; for no man submits himself to any so far his inferior that he cannot be apprehended as his better, much less can any man subject himself to a reasonless or lifeless creature. He that should exhibit any note or sign of submission to such a creature, out of any true affection or intention of submitting himself or doing service unto it, in itself considered, should not only declare himself to be of a perverse and abject mind, but should withal incur the crime of superstition and idolatry [r]."

[r] Nulla res inanima aut irrationalis sine rationali capax est secundum se honoris, cultus, et reverentiæ, seu adorationis; sed imago est res irrationalis et inanima, quantumvis ut imago, sine exemplari tamen consideretur: ergo secundum se, sine exemplari non est capax adorationis et reverentiæ. In hac autem ratione, sola major propositio explicatione indiget et confirmatione; ex qua, evidenter sequitur id, quod contendimus: ea vero ex natura et definitione actus religionis, qui est adoratio, tradita in primo libro disputat. 1. c. 4. demonstrari potest. Est enim voluntas exhibendi alicui excellenti notam et signum submissionis, excellentiæ ipsius debitum: sic enim ex Damasc. ibidem ostendimus, adorationem in nota submissionis consistere: Quare hic adorationis actus duobus constat et completur: signo videlicet externo, ut inclinatione corporis; et affectu illi respon-

CHAP. XXXV. 981

The principal Arguments which the Romanists use to prove the Worshipping of Images to be lawful. What Difference there is between kissing of the Book in solemn Oaths, and the Romanists' Salutation of Images. That Image-worship cannot be warranted by Jacob's anointing the Stone, or other Ceremonies by him used.

1. REFERRING the discussion of authorities alleged in favour or dislike of image-worship to the explication of that commandment wherein this controversy hath his proper seat, the only reason either worth their pains to fortify or ours to oppugn, is that general one whereon Vasquez grounds his apology for adoration of images and relics. And it is this: Every creature of God (seeing none are destitute of his presence, none without some print of his power) may be adored in such a manner as he prescribes; *Nulla est res mundi ex sententia Leontii, quem sæpius citavimus, quam sincere adorare non possumus; et in ipsa Deum*[s]: et lib. 3. disp. 1. cap. 2; *Cum quælibet res mundi sit opus Dei, et in ea Deus continuo sit et operetur: facilius in ea ipsum cogitare possumus, quam virum sanctum in veste &c.* "There is nothing in the uni-

dente. Sicut autem signum externum indicat submissionis et servitutis affectum, sic animus, ex quo procedit, talis esse debet ut vera et non ficta sit adoratio. Animus vero submissionis et servitutis erga illum solum versatur, quem quis apprehendit sibi superiorem et excellentia præditum. Nam minori qui nulla ratione, ut major, potest apprehendi, nemo se subjicit; multo ergo minus creaturæ irrationali et inanimæ. Qui enim ei notam exhiberet submissionis ex affectu illo veræ servitutis erga illam secundum se, perverse ageret; essetque abjecto animo: imo vero crimen, et genus quoddam superstitionis et idolatriæ committeret. Diceretur enim ex animo creaturæ irrationali secundum se servire Græce λατρεύειν aut δουλεύειν, ac proinde eam, ut excellentem sibique superiorem, agnosceret. Vasquez, lib. 2. disput. 8. cap. 8. n. 320.

[s] Vasquez, lib. 2. disp. 6. cap. 3. n. 180.

versal world which (by the opinion of Leontius often cited) we may not sincerely adore, and God in it." And again; "Seeing every thing in the world is God's handywork, in which he continually resides and worketh, we may with better facility consider God in it, than an holy man in his weed or garment." The same reason he further fortifies by this instance: *Si enim Jacob Genes.* xxviii. *erexit lapidem in titulum unxitque oleo, et per illum et in illo Deum adoravit, post quam eo loco mirabilem visionem in somniis vidit, et expergefactus dixit, 'Vere locus iste sanctus est;' non quod in eo loco aliquid sanctitatis esse putaret, sed quod in eo loco sanctus Deus apparere dignatus est: cur quæso non poterit quisque recta et sincera fide Deum in qualibet re intime præsentem considerans, in ipsa et cum ipsa adorare, et hoc animo sibi in titulum et recordationem erigere*[t], *&c.* "If Jacob did erect a stone for a monument, and anoint it with oil; if in this monument so erected he adored God after he had seen a miraculous vision in that place; if upon his awaking he said, This place is truly holy, not that he thought there was any holiness inherent in it, but because the holy Lord had there vouchsafed to appear: why, I pray you, may not every man by faith, sound and sincere, consider God as intimately present in every thing that is, and adore God with it and in it, and with this intention make choice of what creature he list for a monument or remembrancer of God's presence?" *Præterea*[u] *creatura irrationalis et inanimata potest esse materia juramenti, qui est actus religionis: ita ut dum per illam juramus, nullam aliam in ipsa veritatem agnoscamus*

[t] Vasquez, de Ador. lib. 3. disp. 1. c. 2. n. 9.
[u] Vasquez, lib. 3. n. 10.

quam divinam, nec ipsam ut superiorem nobis, in testem vocemus sed Deum cujus veritas in ipsa relucet. Ideoque dixit Dominus, Matt. v., "*Nolite jurare per cœlum, quia Dei thronus est; neque per terram, quia*" *&c. quævis ergo creatura poterit esse materia adorationis, quæ non ad ipsam secundum se sed ad Deum in illa terminetur.* "The reasonless and lifeless creature may be the matter of an oath, which is an act of religion; so that whilst we swear by it, we acknowledge no other truth in it besides the divine truth; nor do we call the creature (by which we swear) to witness, as if it were our superior, but God only, whose truth shines in it. And seeing our Saviour hath said as much in these words, *Swear not by the heavens, because it is the throne of God; nor by the earth, because it is his footstool,* Matt. v.; therefore every creature may be the matter of adoration, which nevertheless is not directed or terminated to the crea- 982
ture as it is a creature, but unto God in the creature." From these suppositions he elsewhere infers, that as we may worship God in every creature wherein he is present, and coadore the creature with him; that is, in his language, exhibit signs of submission or reverence to it, out of that internal adoration in spirit which we owe only unto God; so men may worship St. Peter or St. Paul in their images with dulia, and coadore their images with them with such external signs of submission, as the internal worship of dulia would outwardly express unto them were they present. Many learned expositors are so far from granting every creature to be the object of a lawful oath, that they hold it unlawful, upon what occasion soever, to swear by any. Yet besides the slipperiness or questionable solidity of his supposed ground, the frame of his inference from it is so concise and imperfect, that instead of an answer,

we might without wrong dismiss it with this item "Go and learn your message better, and you shall have audience." But because it is a stranger in our coasts, and seems to conceive more than it well expresseth, we will allow it the benefit of an interpreter to acquaint it with our customs. Now, might it be admitted into our courts of justice, I suppose it would plead that the Romish church doth no otherwise divide her devotions between God or his saints and their images, than we protestants do solemn oaths (which many of us grant, as Vasquez presumes, to be acts of religious worship) betwixt God and the sacred book which we kiss. For if we truly reverence it, for the relation which it hath to God, but with an inferior kind of reverence and submission than we owe to God, this will make strongly for that manner of image-worship which Bellarmine and Sacroboscus commend to us. Or, if out of that internal reverence and submission of mind which we bear only towards God, we derive this outward sign of reverence to the book, not that we acknowledge it in itself (though not of itself) capable of any respect or submission of mind, but only reverencing God in it as in a visible and lively pledge of his presence; we shall hardly be able to make any better plea for this solemn custom, against the accusations of the anabaptists, than Vasquez hath done for kissing and saluting images[x].

2. Few things are in colour more like to honey than soap or gall, though none more unlike in taste. And

[x] Ipsa igitur natura rerum et adorationis perspicue docet honorem exhibitum imagini necessario ad ipsum primum fontem, scilicet exemplar, transire: quare et adorationem imaginis, sicut etiam juramentum per res creatas, et inanimas, esse actum veræ religionis, non quatenus ad ipsas refertur secundum se, sed quatenus ex affectu per illas ad Deum transit.—Vasquez, lib. 2. de Adoratione, disput. 8. cap. 8. n. 366.

these instances, though they may seem to have some similitude at first appearance, will, upon a more particular trial, easily appear most dislike. First, if we speak of particular oaths, given only for satisfaction of men, they include or presuppose a religious profession of our allegiance unto God, as to our supreme Judge; they are not such proper acts of his service, as supplications, thanksgivings, and solemn vows are. The true end and use of their institutions is to give satisfaction unto men in cases wherein no asseveration will be taken for sufficient, such as is solemnly and deliberately conceived and uttered, as it were in the sight and presence of Him, whom we acknowledge to be the Searcher of all hearts, the supreme Judge of all controversies, and the Avenger of all falsehood and wrong. And, for this reason, solemn oaths are not to be administered by any but by those whom he terms gods. These just occasions, or necessity of taking oaths presupposed, the general resolution or public injunction to swear only by the name of the true and everliving God, is an honour to him, because we hereby profess ourselves to be only his servants, and him to be the clear fountain of truth, the severe avenger of all falsehood, in deed, word, or thought. But his honour would be no whit less, if the use or necessity 983
of oaths amongst men were none; as in case every man's yea or nay were as good as his affirmative or negative oath, much better than his bond. But taking men as they are, to confirm every word uttered or promise made by them with a solemn oath, would be a profanation of his name by whom they swear, although they swear or promise nothing but the truth. For it is one thing to swear the truth, another to swear in truth and judgment. This can never be performed

without due observance of the end and occasion why oaths were instituted.

3. Far otherwise it is in supplications and thanksgivings; the more often and solemnly we praise God or pray unto him, the more we honour him; because these are direct and immediate acts of his service, not instituted to give satisfaction unto men, but only to glorify his name, and to better our own souls. Besides this difference in the subjects wherein they are used, the use and end of images in Romish devotions is altogether different from the use or end of the book in administration of oaths. The image is used by them as the mean or messenger for transporting devotions or religious affections unto God or the saints, whose honour is principally and expressly aimed at, in their unwieldy ejaculations before stocks and stones; yet so, as the image is, in their intentions, a true sharer with the prototypon in such honour. We use the book only as a compliment of the civil act whereby we give satisfaction unto men, or as a visible remembrancer, partly to bystanders or spectators, whose eyes by this means may become as true witnesses as their ears, that such protestations have been made; partly, unto him that makes them, who will be more wary and circumspect what he avoucheth and protesteth, when he perceives his speeches must be sealed with such remarkable circumstances, as they cannot but be often recalled to his own and others' memory. To the same end men of honourable place or calling use to lay their hands upon their hearts when they take a solemn oath; yet no man will think that they intend hereby to honour themselves, or to share with Him by whose name they swear; although we grant oaths so taken to be true and proper acts of religion, or God's service.

4. Nor do such as swear, or (at least) are thought to swear, by ordinary or obvious creatures, as, "By this bread, By this light," intend the transmission of any peculiar honour by them to the Creator. Nor can such attestations, though in some cases (for aught I conceive) not unlawful, be in any case, or upon any occasions, more proper acts of divine worship or service than other asseverations of truth are, from which they differ not in nature, but only in degree of seriousness or vehemency. There is in all men, by nature, a proneness or desire to make them upon provocation or mistrust; which natural proneness may perhaps, by religious discretion, be severed from that corruption of nature wherewith even oaths expressly conceived in God's name are often polluted. Though the form be not always so express, the intent and meaning of such attestations may, for the most part, be the same with that which Joshua used, ch. xxiv. 27: *And Joshua wrote these words in the book of the law of God, and took a great stone, and pitched it there under an oak, that was in the sanctuary of the Lord. And Joshua said unto the people, Behold, this stone shall be a witness unto us; for it hath heard all the words of the Lord which he hath spoken with us: it shall be therefore a witness against you, lest you deny your God.*

5. Again, it will be granted but by a few of our writers (though Vasquez take it for unquestionable) 984
that Jacob did truly worship the stone, but God alone *presente lapide*, as some of his sect persuade themselves they honour God "in the image's presence, not the image[y]." Of many expositions to this purpose I might make better use against Bellarmine and Sacroboscus than I can against Vasquez, who hath drawn

[y] Vide Naclantum Epist. ad Rom. cap. 1. loco citato.

the controversy about image-worship to such a straight and narrow issue, that, by pinching him too hard or too hastily in these passages, we may give him opportunity to brush us off, or occasion him to stand at bay. Whereas, if we give him leave to take his own course through them, he will quickly run himself so far out of breath, that we may easily overtake him on plain ground, or drive him into that net, out of which there is no possibility of evasion. Be it granted then, to this end, and no further, that Jacob did not only adore God *presente lapide*, but salute or adore the stone withal, in such a manner as Vasquez would have images worshipped, together with their prototypons; will it hence follow, that such as frame their devotions by Vasquez' rule do not transgress the law of God, do not remove the bounds of the ancient, or commit no more idolatry than Jacob did? Their pretended warrant from this instance rather proves, that the devil wrought the Romish church unto idolatry by the same fallacy which seduced the heathens, rude pagans, or uncatechized Christians, unto sorcery. For what professor of magical secrets at this day is there, which cannot, which doth not pretend the like examples of patriarchs or prophets for their superstitious practices? As Satan is God's ape, so idolatry and sorcery, the two principal parts of his service, have their original, for the most part, from an apish imitation of some sacred actions, rites, or ceremonies, used by God's servants. He is a counterfeit lord, and his professed or domestic servants must be clothed in such liveries as may bear some counterfeit colour of saints' garments. The reason why most men slide more easily and further into these two sins than into any other, without all suspicion of any danger, ofttimes with presumption of doing well, may be gathered partly from the pro-

perty of man's nature assigned by the philosopher, partly from the apostle's character of the natural man, "qui non percipit quæ sunt Spiritus Dei;" *who cannot perceive matters of the Spirit.* Man by nature is of all creatures most apt to imitate, and the natural man most unapt rightly to imitate or express the suggestions or motions of the Spirit, which cannot be otherwise than spiritually discerned, much less managed. Now he that hath no touch or sense of the Spirit, must needs remain altogether senseless of his mistakings in imitating the Spirit, wherein he glories no less than apes do in counterfeiting man.

6. In matters of secular civility or morality, many things well beseem one man which are very uncomely in another. Even in one and the same man's behaviour or deportment, many things are decent and lawful, whiles they are drawn from him by special or rare occasions, whose usual practice, upon dislike, or no occasions, becomes, according to the nature of the subject, ridiculous or dishonest. Now in subjects of highest nature, as in the service of God, or matters spiritual, the least digression or declination from proposed patterns, though it be not so observable to common sense, is far more dangerous than a greater error in morality; the precipitation once continued is irrecoverable. The best and most catholic remedy against the two forementioned catholic mischiefs would be the serious observation of this general rule: "Such actions as have been managed by God's Spirit, suggested by secret instinct, or extracted by extraordinary and special occasions, are then only lawful in others, 985
when they are begotten by like occasions or brought forth by like impulsions." Their purposed or affected imitation is always unseasonable and preposterous, and, by continual use or custom, becomes magical or

idololatrical. Jonathan did not sin in taking an omen, whether by the spirit of prophesying, or by some inferior kind of instinct, from his enemies' invitations. For another to attempt the like enterprise, by warrant of his example, upon like speeches, would be a superstitious tempting of God; no better than a magical sacrifice. The same observation will fit the prognostication of Abraham's servant, sent to bespeak his young master Isaac a wife, Gen. xxv.[z] An Italian[a] in latter times, of greater spirit than means, going out to his work with his axe, whilst a great army was passing by, comparing the hopeless possibilities of his present profession with the possible hopes of a martial life; out of this doubtful distaste of his present estate, whose best solace was security from bodily dangers, frames a presage unto himself not much unlike unto that of Jonathan's, and it was "to throw up his axe into an high tree, having conditioned with himself, that if it came down again, he would take it up, and follow his wonted trade; but if it should chance to hang in the boughs, he would seek to raise himself and his family by the wars;" as afterward he strangely did: for he himself became so great a commander, that Sforza his son, upon the foundations which he had laid, did advance himself to the dukedom of Milan. For every repining, discontented peasant to put the forsaking or following of his wonted calling unto the like casual devolution would be a tempting of God; to prognosticate the same success, from experience of the like event, albeit he had opportunity to try the conclusion, with the same axe upon the same tree, would be superstitious; to rest confident in such persuasions, would be to settle upon the dregs of sorcery. Charles the Fifth

[z] Vide Aug. quæst. 62. in Genes.

[a] Cottoniola. vid. inter alios Varceviceum in Parall.

did once salute the Spanish shore, whereof he was, under God, the supreme lord, in such an affectionate and prostrate manner, as his meanest vassal could not ordinarily have saluted either him or it without just imputation of gross idolatry. And yet I should suspect him to be waywardly superstitious, or superstitiously peevish, that would peremptorily condemn this his strange behaviour of superstition, or censure it as ill beseeming so heroical a spirit for the present, though at other times it might have seemed not vain or foolish only, but apishly impious. His late farewell to the wars and resignation of the empire, his longing desire to give solemn testimony of his love to the Spanish nation, his safe arrival, after long absence and escapes of many dangers, in that soil, many of whose sons had spent their lives in his service, and wherein he purposed to spend the rest of his life in the service of his God, in that soil unto whose custody he then publicly bequeathed his bones, did extract these significant and extraordinary expressions of his extraordinary and swelling affection from him. And such expressions as are ridiculous, or rather impious, when they are affected or fashioned by forced affection, are always pardonable, for the most part commendable, when they proceed from an unexpected instinct, or unmasterable impulsion. All extraordinary dispositions, as love, joy, sorrow, or fear, whether natural or sacred, naturally desire a speedy vent, and that vent is fittest which first presents itself without seeking. The sudden motions wherewith such full passions seek to express themselves are uncapable of rule or method. To put the characters of ordinary compliment or behaviour upon them, breeds greater violence or incumbrance, than gyves or fetters to a man disposed to dance, or manacles to one provoked to boisterous fight. And as the sun 986

in his strength cannot directly ejaculate his beams upon any body capable of heat and illumination, but others adjoining will be secondary participants of these qualities by reflection; so cannot our affections be strongly and intensively set upon any object extraordinarily amiable or lovely, but some rays or branches of them will redouble upon those sensible creatures which have special affinity with it, though of themselves uncapable of any love. Tender and endeared respects to men's persons will always leave some touch of grateful affection towards the place wherein we have enjoyed any memorable fruit of their presence. Thus Andromache, bereft of her young son's company, desires his garments to rest her unwieldy affections upon them. Nor dare I censure this her desire as unlawful, lest I should condemn the generation of the just. For did not old Jacob express the tender affection which he bare to the son of his age, whom he now never looked to see again, by kissing his coat? yet to have hanged it up about his bed or table, that it might receive such salutations evening and morning, or at every meal time, might have countenanced many branches of superstition. "Once and use it not," in most like cases, is the true rule of discretion; continual use of that, which upon all occasions is not unlawful, degenerates, no man knows how, into abuse. God, in his law, permits a kind of ceremonious mourning for the dead, but prescribes a mean withal. So then, to mourn is natural; but to mourn continually, or to feed our grief by artificial representations, is superstitious.

7. To the instance of Jacob's worshipping the stone: the internal sense or touch of God's extraordinary presence inspired his breast with extraordinary passion. And to reflect or exonerate themselves upon

sensible circumstances is altogether as natural to the fulness of those affections which proceed from supernatural causes, as to their fulness whose causes are merely natural. The mere imitation of natural motions is always artificial, never natural. The imitation of such motions, or external actions, as naturally flow from supernatural inspiration, is hypocritical, artificially Satanical. Howbeit the Romanist cannot so properly be said to imitate as to invert Jacob's behaviour, whiles he seeks to raise his affections by saluting or adoring images, or to transmit the affection which he so raiseth to God or the saints by images of his own erection. This is, in truth, not to invocate, but to conjure God or the saints. The imitation, if so we call it, is as preposterous, as if a man should strive to prophesy or counterfeit visions by affecting to speak nonsense, because some prophets, in their visions, have been raught beyond their senses. In fine, the scholastic ape, while he exactly imitates his master Satan, that sets him a work, and his manner of worshipping God by images, hath the same proportion to Jacob's worshipping, which he pretends for his warrant, that the voices or motions of bodies assumed by wicked spirits have to the vital motions or speeches of living men. The one move themselves as the spirit which God hath implanted in them directs; the other suffer such motions as malignant spirits put upon them. The old Saracen's adoration of a stone may with better probability be justified by Jacob's example, than the usual worship of images in the Romish church.

8. Many passages in the Fathers, though cruelly racked by the Romish church, will reach no further than the former instance in Jacob. Adoration, in many of their languages, is no more than decent salu-

tation. The phrases, as Vasquez observes, are with
987 them indifferent, nor were they solicitous in what terms they expressed these expressions of their love or reverence unto those visible objects, which had affinity with their extraordinary passions, or peculiar reference unto God or Christ; as knowing the respect, which they tendered, to be void of superstition, when it flowed only from abundance of internal affection, or was drawn from them upon special impulsions. They did not affect submissive salutation, or that emphatical expression of their affections which they often used, as a part of religious duty or daily worship, but as a point of decent behaviour. And decent behaviour doth change the subject only, not alter its own nature or form, whiles it is used in matters sacred. Nor is the habit of civil compliment, or good manners, such an unhallowed weed, as must be laid aside, when we come into the sanctuary, or into places sometimes graced with their extraordinary presence whom we reverence for their religion and piety. The use or frequency of it, notwithstanding, must be limited by just analogy to the known or approved use of it in matters civil.

CHAP. XXXVI.

The Arguments drawn from Jacob's Fact, and the like Examples, answered by Vasquez himself in another Case, and by the Analogy of civil Discretion.

1. WITH what secret joy or exultation the undoubted sight of our Saviour's sepulchre, of mount Tabor, or like sacred monuments, would feed my soul and spirit, or in what external testifications the abundance of these internal dispositions would vent themselves, I cannot tell, until I have just occasion to try them. But my heart (I am persuaded) should not

afterward smite me much, if, upon our first meeting, I saluted them in such a manner as, did I daily repair unto them with purpose to tender them the like salutations, or to invite the former affections or exultations by kissing or bowing to them, would convince my conscience of transferring the honour of God to stocks and stones. The most learned amongst our adversaries, whiles they seek to give satisfaction to our objections, are enforced to acknowledge, not only the equity of this liberty which we grant, but the necessity of the restraint which to their prejudice we make, from the authority of a story more canonical with them than with us. For Mordecai to have bowed his knees to a mortal man, was not (even in Romish glosses upon God's laws given to the Jews) altogether unlawful. Nor did Haman desire to be adored *cultu latriæ*, though some Romanists[b], for want of a better answer, have been put upon this shift. But their dreams[c] Vasquez hath very well refuted. First, because Ahasuerus himself never affected this kind of honour, and Haman could not be so foolish, though so impious, as to exact a greater honour than had been done unto his sovereign. Secondly, because Mordecai protested his readiness to do Haman greater honour than was exacted, so his people might have been preserved or advanced by his dejection. Yet to have honoured Ahasuerus himself, or any mortal man, with divine honour, had been such an open wrong unto the God of his fathers, as Mordecai would not have done for prevention of any mischief that could have befallen his people. However, if the protestation of his readiness to kiss the soles of Haman's feet, upon condition the state of his people

[b] Alanus Copus, Thomas Aquinas, Lyra, &c.

[c] Vasquez, lib. 1. de Adorat. disp. 5. cap. 3. numb. 156, &c.

might be thereby bettered, what truth is there in his
988 pretence, that, being a Jew, he durst not bow his knee to Haman, lest by so doing he should transfer the honour of his God to a mortal man, specially seeing the safety of his nation was at that time so deeply endangered by refusal of worship which had been tendered by his religious ancestors, not only to kings and prophets of Judah, but even to heathen princes? To this scruple, Vasquez[d], out of Cajetan, hath made answer very appositely for Mordecai and for us; *Noluit illud signum honoris præbere, quia indignum ei videbatur, ut solum reverentiæ civilis gratia, nisi magna aliqua causa exigente, homini quotidie signum illud exhiberetur, non quod lege Judaica id prohibitum esset, sed quia ex communi consuetudine non nisi magna aliqua ex causa regibus et principibus illud signum exhibebatur: sed soli Deo tanquam supremum communiter reservatum erat. Atque hac ratione dixit Mardochæus. "Timui ne honorem Dei," id est signum quod consuetudine populi nostri, Dei cultui applicatum est, "in hominem transferrem."* The brief or abstract of his reply is this: The sign of submission which Haman exacted was usually tendered only unto God, to kings or prophets or others in preeminence very seldom, and upon special occasions, as in testification either of unusual sorrow, or of thankfulness more than ordinary. The truth of his observation isapparent out of Ruth's behaviour to Boaz, of Judith's to Holofernes, of Abigail's and Mephibosheth's to David, and of the captain's to Elijah, 2 Kings i. And albeit Haman was bent to do the Jews an extraordinary mischief for Mordecai's sake, yet Mordecai had no opportunity offered him by Divine Providence to prevent it by submission of himself to Haman, but

[d] Vasquez, ibid. n. 158.

rather by standing out against him. In this general, then, Vasquez and we well agree, that such external worship as upon special and rare occasions may be lawfully exhibited to some creatures, becomes idololatrical by use or continuance without concurrence of like occasions. The issue which we desire to join with him and his fellows from these grounds shall be this: First, whether the homage which they do to images be not in itself much greater, and, in respect of many circumstances, far more solemn, than Haman required of Mordecai? Secondly, whether the exhibition of it in God's temples be not more frequent and usual, than Mordecai's occasions and necessities of saluting Haman could have been in Ahasuerus' court? Herein only they truly follow Mordecai's example, that they seldom or never communicate God's honour to secular princes, but on stocks or stones they usually bestow all the signs of submission or other solemnities that can be appropriated to God's service.

2. The strict tenor of God's commandment, and that significant character whereby he expresseth his special observance of men's demeanour in this point, evidently condemn the Romish church of abominable idolatry; yet in my judgment it doth no way prejudice the performance of such external respect, or such testification of reverence unto true relics of saints, or uncouth places (sometimes extraordinarily graced with God's presence) as Jacob tendered unto the stone. We ought, in these cases, to moderate the impulsions which their sight would procure, by the analogy of that liberty which discretion and good manners grant us in other points, wherewith the occasions of idolatry have most affinity. For idolatry is but a spiritual fornication or adultery. Now there is no man of discretion, though otherwise more jealous than he hath

just cause, but will permit his wife to salute his friends upon special occasions, or at first meetings after long absence. But suppose a wanton, upon this liberty, should presume to continue the same salutations even-
989 ing and morning, or most hours of the day, for a month together, and plead her excuse from the analogy of Romish catechisms in cases of conscience concerning spiritual adultery thus: Sir, I thought I might as freely kiss my friends and yours at one time as at another, at all times as well as any, so long as I kiss them only with kisses of love and kindness, not of lust and wantonness. Would this distinction give just satisfaction to any husband no further jealous than he hath occasion? I think no Jesuit would rely upon it, if he should be detected to be thus over familiar with another man's wife of better spirit. And yet in express denying the equity of this apology, they implicitly grant that their mother doth presume further upon the patience of the Almighty, who in this case hath protested his especial jealousy, than any secular strumpet dare upon the patience of her loving or doting husband. *She hath done all the works of a presumptuous whorish woman, building her high places in the corner of every way, and making her high places in every street; and hath not been as an harlot that despiseth a reward, but as a wife that playeth the harlot, and taketh others for her husband*[e]*! She is contrary. Other harlots receive rewards of their lovers, which for the most part repair unto them. She compasseth sea and land, and rangeth through all the courts of the great King's dominion, with gifts in her hand to entice, with the sacrifice of praise and hymns in her mouth, to enchant the chaste and loyal servants of her Lord unto her lust.* And being deprived of their

[e] Ezek. xvi. 31, 32.

company, prostrates herself, evening and morning, all the hours of the day and night, unto carved images of both sexes; with whom her Lord and Husband hath so strictly forbidden her all familiarity. And yet, in pride of her whorish cunning, presumes she is able to blear that all-seeing eye, unto whose brightness light itself is in comparison but as darkness; to whom the most secret corners of darkness shine more clearly than the noon-light doth unto us, if she have but leisure to wipe her lips with this distinction—" I did kiss thy servants, unto whom I prostrated my body, only with kisses of *dulia*, not of *latria*." The scent of dead corps cannot draw the vultures half so far, with such greediness, as every unsavoury tale or ridiculous wonder doth her children, to feed their souls with the sight of counterfeit and putrefied relics. The wisest of her sons are now become so foolish, as to publish with their mouths what she had long since said in the pride of her heart: " Tush! God was a jealous God in the days of the synagogue his former wife, which wanted discretion, and proved unfaithful: but this his new spouse, our holy mother the catholic church, is more wise and gracious in his eyes, able to warrant whatsoever is done by her appointment; she knows how to humour and please her loving Husband, who is not like man, that he should be jealous of her carriage that means no harm, and cannot behave herself amiss, though, to unfaithful eyes, she may seem outwardly to do as wantons do."

3. God indeed is never jealous as men are, without grounds of just occasion, yet more tenderly observant of his spouse's demeanour in this kind than any husband is of his wife's; because he knows (as by his law he would give us to understand) that familiarity or dalliance with strange and wanton lovers is not so

powerful to corrupt the weaker sex, as kissing or solemn salutations of graven images is to pollute the wisest souls, or to inveigle the strongest faith. And unless we knew he had determined to confound the wisdom of the wise, it would seem more than miraculously strange how such great scholars as are the Jesuits should be ignorant, that the visible exhibition of Christ in the flesh makes all service of graven
990 images more abominable in the Christians than it could have been in the Jew. It is a truth sealed by the New Testament as well as by the law, We heard a voice, we saw no similitude besides the engraven image of God's substance, by whom, though he speak most plentifully to the world, yet spake he nothing concerning images. Neither is there any instance or matter of fact in all the New Testament that can be pretended for worshipping images or other visible creatures with such show of probability as the former instance of Jacob may be. But whether Jacob did only worship God *præsente lapide;* or whether he did in some sort externally worship or coadore the stone with God; or whether he did make unto himself such sensible attestation of his solemn vow, by anointing the stone, and erecting it into a pillar, as we do of our solemn oaths by kissing of the book, I leave it to the reader; though for mine own part I like this last form of speech the best. But however men's opinions may vary concerning the form of speech, the matter most to be considered by all, which seems to me a truth unquestionable, is this: If the wisest or most circumspect man on earth should worship God in every place after the same manner for every circumstance that Jacob did God in Bethel, or if the most accurate anatomist of his own thoughts or affections should take every stone into such consideration whilst he worshippeth God as

Jacob did that stone; he should become a gross idolater, without all help from any distinction wherewith the Romish church can furnish him. The truth is, that Jacob did so worship God in the presence of the stone, as his posterity were bound to worship him before the ark of the covenant. Both worshipped him in or by those creatures after such a manner as we may not worship him in any created visible substance, save only in that created substance wherein he dwelleth bodily. The manner of his presence, then, at Luz or Bethel, and in the ark, were shadows or pledges of his inhabitation in the man Christ Jesus; in whom, were he present on earth, we might and ought to adore God in such a manner as would be sacrilegious to adore him in any other man or body.

4. But it is the property of whoredom, as well spiritual as carnal, to lead such as taste her baits with delight like oxen to the slaughter, without any apprehension of danger's approach until death surprise them. Lot's mischance is become the Romish church's perpetual heritage: she is so besotted with the grapes of her own planting, that she knows not what abomination she commits, nor with whom. Like an harlot drunk in a common inn, or a frantic whore in an open market, she prostrates herself to every passenger, and sets open all the temples of God whose keys have been committed to her custody, that they may serve as common stews for satiating the foul lusts of infernal spirits, whom she thither invites by solemn enchantments, as by sacrificing and offering incense unto images. And finding pleasure in the practice, dreams she embraceth her Lord and Husband, whilst these unclean birds encage themselves in her and her children's breasts.

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CHAP. XXXVII.

Whether, granting that it were lawful to worship such Saints as we undoubtedly believe to be true Saints, we might lawfully worship such as we suspect to be no true Saints.

1. IF to honour true saints and heirs of bliss with prayers, temples, sacrifices, and vows, be idolatry, we shall want terms to express the abomination of their sacrilege in performing these points of service unto such as the world hath either no warrant to account members of Christ's mystical body, or just reason to suspect for sons of darkness. In doubtful cases of this nature, some honestly-minded Romanists used to conceive their prayers with such conditions as the Frenchman did his to St. Cuthbert, *Si sanctus sis, ora pro me*, "If you be a saint, pray for me." It was a desperate resolution, better befitting an impudent monk than sir Thomas More[f], to censure this caution of scrupulosity, or to reject it as no less superfluous or unmannerly than this form of request unto one of our living neighbours; "If you be an honest man, I would request you to remember me in your prayers; if not, I will not trouble you." The good gentleman was out of his element when he wrote controversies in divinity; for he would have sooner taken an apple instead of a nut at a banquet, than have judged two cases of civil justice so dislike as these which he here brings by one and the same rule of law. There is no man honestly wise, but would sooner request his prayers whom he knows to be dishonest, or of irreligious life, than bear a solemn testimony of his honesty or religion. Mutual prayer is a duty enjoined us while we live together; the practice of it is the best mean to make bad men

[f] Sir Thomas More in his treatise of Invocation of Saints.

good, and good men better. But men deceased, whether elect or reprobates, are uncapable of amendment, either by our prayers for them, or theirs for us. Nor do the Romanists enjoin us to pray to supposed saints, with purpose to increase their happiness, or as if they stood in need of our devotions. To pray for any whom it is lawful publicly to pray unto, is by their doctrine a foul disgrace unto the saint, a point of infidelity in the supplicant. Praying to saints is, by their opinion, on our part a duty or tribute wherewith we are bound to honour them; their prayers or intercessions for us are princely favours or graces, which must be sought, not as acts of debt or mutual duty, but by religious service and supplication. Now, admitting it were lawful to supplicate thus unto St. Peter, or unto others whom we believe and know to be true saints; yet in public liturgies to offer up our prayers and vows upon our knees, either in honour of those with whose lives and deaths we are altogether unacquainted, or of those whom we suspect to have lived and died not so well as we could wish to do ourselves, is a sin so much more grievous to good consciences than bearing testimony upon oath for men's positive honesty whom we know not, as stealing of treasure out of the church is in respect of simple theft or burglary. Testimonies given upon oath require certainty of sense or experiment; and tendering of prayers as a tribute or honour, or in testification of our religious respect, requires certainty of faith that the party to whom they are tendered is worthy of them.

2. The ground of this difference between praying to living men and praying to deceased saints (which the superstitious doctors seek to conceal from the simple) may very well be gathered by analogy of Bellarmine's[g]

[g] Bellarm. l. 3. de Sanctor. Beatitud. cap. 9.

992 resolution in another point of their service: "Promises," saith he, "religiously made to living members of the church militant, are but promises; but so made unto saints, or members of the church triumphant, they are truly and properly vows." His first reason is, because a vow is but a promise unto God, and our promises unto saints are liker our promises unto God than unto the promises which we make to mortal men: for as that which we promise unto God is unprofitable unto him, but profitable unto us, and is tendered only by us in sign of honour and thankfulness; so whatsoever we promise unto saints, it cannot profit them, but ourselves: their happy estate stands in need of nothing that is ours; all that we offer and promise them is in testimony of the honour which we owe them, or in sign of our thankfulness to them: but performance of our promises either is or may be profitable to living men, because mortality stands in need of many things. Secondly, the saints can have no title to our vows, *nisi quatenus sunt dii per participationem*, "but inasmuch as they are gods by participation." Now we know the saints which reign with Christ to be such; but that such as live with us are partakers of the divine nature we may hope well, certain we cannot be. Thirdly, the saints in heaven are happy, glorious, the sons of God, gods by participation, because they are confirmed in their estate, are not subject to change or apostasy; to both which all in this life, having their bliss and glory rather in *spe* than in *re*, are (in his judgment) still obnoxious. From these resolutions we thus infer. If promises, then the prayers which we make to saints have greater affinity with the prayers which we make to God, than with our request to living men, that they would pray for us. To speak properly, we pray men, we do not use to pray unto

them. But as unto God, so unto saints, men of the Roman church's catechizing use to pray, and that solemnly, because they hold them gods by participation. Now as we might not worship our Redeemer *cultu latriæ*, with divine worship, unless we were by faith assured that he were truly God; so, admitting the invocation or worshipping of true saints *cultu duliæ* were warranted by the word of God, yet might we not worship any with this kind of worship, without like certainty of faith that they are gods by participation, or heirs of glory. Had this great clerk been mindful, in his third book concerning the worshipping of saints, of what he had said before in the first, he would in wisdom have concealed these conclusions: or if he had in the first book foreseen the necessity of this resolution concerning vows, shame would have made him disclaim the practice of praying, though privately, unto uncanonized saints, whose lawfulness he there maintains by the same plea that sir Thomas More used; *Oramus viventes etiamsi nesciamus esse sanctos, cur non defunctos quando majori ratione confidimus esse sanctos,* "We pray living men to pray for us, albeit we know them not to be saints; and why not men deceased, whom we may on better reasons hope to be saints; though this we may not do in public litanies and sacred service?" Now, they may not invocate such saints in public liturgies because the church hath forbidden it; otherwise Nazianzen's prosopopœia, in his panegyric to Basil or Athanasius, might have been a sufficient warrant to have conceived a public hymn in the same form. But, as I said, we pray living men to pray for us, as we are ready to do for them; we pray not unto them; we give no solemn testimony of their sanctity whose sincerity we mistrust; though this were less sacrilegious and dishonourable

unto God, than praying unto them whom we know not to be saints, albeit to pray unto known saints were no sacrilege. For what preposterous partiality is this:
993 that God must manifest his right to supreme honour by his works of creation and providence; that our Saviour which died for us must plead his title to the like by miracles whilst he lived, by his resurrection from the dead, and glorious ascension into heaven; and yet men, that were subject to the same passions as we ourselves are, must be worshipped after death with such worship as is more like to the honour which we owe to God than any respect or reverence which is due to the best man living; and all this without any evidence of their sanctity, or just proof of their right unto such obsequies!

3. The infinite extent of this idolatry with suspicious saints, in times past is so well prosecuted by many, that it needs no long declaration. No Jesuit will take the defence of the church's practice upon him. For reformation of such palpable abuses as no distinction can salve, all of them plead a necessity of having saints canonized, that is, of having their supposed incorporation into the church triumphant authenticly published, and their worship authorized by the church, whose testimony may ground certainty of faith. Bellarmine tells us a story out of Sulpitius of one that was worshipped for a martyr, whose soul, notwithstanding, made his appearance before St. Martin (who suspected the service as unlawful, because not warranted by tradition of antiquity), and ingenuously confessed that it was the damned ghost of a certain robber, which had been sentenced to violent death by course of law. And pope Alexander the Third checked some of his time (nor were they altogether without blame) for adoring one as an holy martyr, which had been slain in a

drunken fray. But granting this story of St. Martin to be true, unless there be some authentic judges to determine which are true revelations, which not, the doctrine of praying to saints being indefinitely allowed, it is altogether as likely that many thieves might be worshipped upon false or pretended revelations, as that the worship of one thief should be recalled by revelation made to St. Martin. Hath the pope then passed this infallible censure upon all the revelations that have been in this case pretended? or taken other order to secure the world from all possibility of imposture? If he have, we would desire to be acquainted with his determinations. In the mean time we will inquire, first, whether the disease, without some sovereign medicine, be not alike dangerous in Rome-christian as it was in Rome-heathen; secondly, whether the medicine pretended by Rome-christian be applied according to her own prescriptions; thirdly, whether, so applied, it be not more deadly than the disease.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Rome-christian as vain and foolish in making imaginary Saints, as Rome-heathen in making false Gods.

1. THE solemn worship of local saints[h] did either first begin or multiply its first beginnings throughout these parts of the world with the inundation of barbarians, as the reader may gather out of Gregory of Tours, and Beda, &c. Nor would I deny that many of these late converted painims' prayers to God, though conceived out of an opinion of the saints' mediations, were often heard, as the ancient Romans, though their devotion were clad with idolatry, as bones with flesh, were often rewarded with such temporal blessings, as

[h] See section 3. cap. 18. par. 7, &c. and cap. 21. in the two last paragraphs.

994 God in justice denied to other idolaters, less devout in their kind. The Carthaginians might have sacrificed unto Fortune for victory, or unto storms and tempests in their distress, with worse success than some Roman generals did, because their respect or esteem of divine power and providence, indefinitely considered, was not so good. So might those prayers of the French kings tendered unto St. Martin be sometimes better heard than the prayers which their enemies made unto their gods. All this notwithstanding being granted, the decrees of solemn honour to their images might be as idolatrous as Rome-heathen's erection of temples unto Fortune or storms. In opposition to atheism or irreligion, God usually accepts devotion, though tainted with superstition. And unto this case I will reduce those prayers which that devout virgin, whose chastity Cyprian[i] before he was a saint sought to expugn by help of magic, presented to the Virgin Mary in extremity of conflict with foul lusts. That prayers thus made, out of ignorance, whether to saints or false gods, have sometimes found success, is to be ascribed to the abundant mercy of the true God; to continue the like practices, upon these experiments, is the fruit of man's superstitious impiety, and hath been the mother or nurse of much idolatry.

2. As Fortune, upon experiments of good success in doing her service, had more temples in Rome than any other god or goddess, so the blessed Virgin, upon such relations as this of Nazianzen concerning the forementioned maid, hath been presented with more Ave Marias by maids and women (and that with better devotion) than God with Pater nosters[k]. Though the

[i] Nazianz. in Orat. pro Cypriano.

[k] Compare this practice in Rome-christian with the practices of Rome-heathen. Sect. 3. cap. 17. par. 2, 3, 4, 5, &c.

lawful honour which was given to her redounded to God's glory, yet, in honouring her more than him, they dishonour him more than if they adored Fortune, whom they cannot dishonour, because she is not: but the blessed Virgin they much dishonour in honouring her as a goddess, or a compeer of God; and her dishonour is, by their own confession, God's dishonour. But as to pray to her suits best with women's desires, so other perplexities or conditions of life had peculiar saints to symbolize with them; whose respect, upon particular occasions or exigencies, will, from the temptation before mentioned, be much greater than God's, if their invocations may be permitted. From this opportunity did the multitude of Rome-christian's local saints exceed the number of Rome-heathen's topic gods. Thus, as Rome-heathen had a goddess for corn before it was sprouted, another for it after it was come up, a third for the straw, a fourth for the knot, and a fifth for the ear; so hath Rome-christian one saint for this part of man's body, another for that; one for the pestilence, another for fevers; one for toothache, another for pain in the side, &c. And would not men, women, or children, deeply affected with these bodily grievances, pray as heartily and vow as devoutly to their supposed patrons as unto Christ? It is usual with merry companions, when they hear gamesters pray for good luck, to say, God was never good player at cards and dice. Every man in sense of extreme pain would be as ready to say, Christ, I know, is a good man, and hath experience of all infirmities; but we never read that he was so much troubled with the toothache as St. Apollonia hath been, or with the side-ache as St. Roccha. Hath not St. Sebastian, upon these motives, bereft him of his titles for his cure of pestilence? An heathen that should read God's attributes of wounding

and making whole, or Christ's miraculous cures of all diseases, albeit he neither believed one or other, would undoubtedly believe that the hymns which have been sung unto St. Sebastian had been consecrated to the
995 Christian's God and Redeemer; or they might well think that to avoid the censure of paganism the papists did honour their Æsculapius under another name, or that out of envy to his universal skill in curing diseases this empiric had been set up, to eclipse his fame, and rob him of patients in cure of the pestilence:

Tu qui Deo es tam charus,
Et in luce valde clarus,
Sana tuos populos,
Et a peste nos defende:
Opem nobis hanc impende
Contra morbi stimulos.

Thou who art to God so dear,
And in light exceeding clear,
Health unto thy people bring,
Us from pestilence defend:
Aid unto thy people send,
'Gainst diseases that them sting.

3. Experiments registered in the records of antiquity pretended against us will confirm our observation, that as conquerors usually change the names of towns and titles of regiments with whose emoluments or real titles they grace their followers; so the[1] professors of Christianity, having expelled the profession of paganism before their hearts were throughly

[1] Quare cum primum illuxit et invaluit splendor Christianæ pietatis, Tolosani proceres tectorio inaurato speciosum fanum, antea Palladi dedicatum, Mariæ Virgini consultissime transcripserunt: tum quia Pallas virgo ex Jovis parentis cerebro nata fingatur, tum quia consilio et opibus abunde fortunet mortales, et Maria virginitatem naturæ obstupendam retinuit, et in Dei Opt. Max. mente ante solem et tempora versabatur, et auream nobis ætatem prorsus reduxit, ac partu mirifico miseros ægrosque prosperavit, &c.—Forcat. lib. 1. 32. See chap. 28. par. 1. Ave maris stella.

cleansed from the relics of it, shared the dignities or seigniories of the old heathen gods amongst the saints or martyrs which they best affected. Thus was the temple of Pantheon, that is, of all the gods, with the rites or honours due unto it, alienated by Rome-christian to all saints, whose service (by equivalency) is celebrated as superstitiously by Rome-christian upon the day which we solemnize in the memory of all true saints deceased. The lake in Cyrene, which had been Pallas's jointure, and bare her name, was in St. Augustine's time bequeathed to St. Mary, and instead of *Tritonidis Palus* named *Mariæ Palus*, that is, of Pallas's lake, made our Lady's lake. Civil modesty would not suffer latter ages to make the blessed Virgin patroness of wantons; therefore was this part of Venus's honourable office bestowed on Mary Magdalene and on one Afra; but Venus's regency over the sea fell to St. Mary's lot upon as little ground, I suppose, as the heathens had to entitle Venus to it:

Venus orta mari mare præstat eunti
——— *Tranquillum.*[m]

Venus, as thought the heathens, took nature and substance from the froth of the sea, and the blessed Virgin's name imports as much as a sea or multitude of waters; and is enstyled in their liturgies[n] *Stella maris.* This will-worship, begun upon these motives, did multiply gods by subdivisions, occasioned from the diversity of sexes or other references, in as prodigious sort as the heathens had done. If the good man pray to Pelagius for the welfare of his oxen, the good wife would pray to St. Bride for the welfare of

[m] Apollinis delubrum Clodoveus quintus Francorum rex, ejecto numine amoribus illicitis infamato, Virgini Mariæ veri solis genetrici consecravit.—Forcat. lib. 5. p. 669.

[n] Officium Beatæ Mariæ. Sir David Linsey.

her kine. St. Anthony's extraordinary and tender care over swine could not content them without another peculiar and more immediate president of sows. Their shameless and sottish vanity in this kind is prosecuted at large by others; the reader, if it be worth his contemplation, may view it with less pains than I can draw the map or survey of it. Amongst others, it is wittily set down by the famous Knight of the Mount, or Lion King at Arms, who, for conclusion, challengeth the heralds of will-worship to blazon the
996 difference, if any there were, between heathenish and Romish idolatry. He, though as well skilled as any of his time in titles of honour, could descry no difference between their services.

4. Rome-heathen, in the ἀκμὴ or full growth of superstition, made he-gods of the masculine, and she-gods of the feminine names of affections, as Pavor, Clementia, &c. Rome-christian clothed imaginary saints with formed names, fitted of purpose to their humours which were to worship them, lest their merchandise should want chapmen. For humorous affection is always charitable to believe that hath real existence whose imagination is pleasant. It would be hard for any legendary to produce the warrant of any writer, sacred or ecclesiastic, why Urbanus should be reputed a saint. Horace, I think, is the most canonical author he can allege, *Fœcundi calices quem non fecere disertum?* Pleasant companions were to have a patron as well as others, and none so fit for them as Urbanus. As a coat given by the herald makes a clown a gentleman, so this name, devised by a writer of legends, was matter enough for men so disposed to create a saint out of it. Or perhaps some such as they name in sports had been killed in a drunken fray, and taken for a martyr of his followers. But

out of question some good fellows in mere merriment set up Gutmannus for the warden of pudding-makers. The pedigree of many other solemnly worshipped in times past, and in some places perhaps at this day, cannot be derived from any real ancestors, but had names from the matters whereof they are supposed presidents, as *mammon* in the Syriac, and *Plutus* in Greek. In minds once wrought to this effeminate levity and credulity, the very sight of emblematical or hieroglyphical devices would make impression of real saintships. Unto this topic we may refer the raising of St. Christopher, or mounting of St. George. Both in some countries had been adored as gods, though but men of the painter's or herald's making. That most natural branch of superstition, which had spread itself like the vine amongst the heathens (exemplified heretofore in Balak) did recover sap and leaf again in greater quantity in the Roman church. The prayers which the blessed Virgin either could not hear or would not grant at Winchester, were so effectually heard at Walsingham or Loretto, that the Lady of Winchester, Walsingham, and Loretto did in vulgar esteem differ as much in person as these towns did in place, and were conceited to emulate each other no less than as if they had been ladies of diverse families in the prince's court.

5. This leaven of gentilism which had thus diffused itself through the Romish mass, or the Romish church's pretended service of God, and thus shared his heavenly regiment amongst the saints, (as conquerors do the lands which they conquer among their followers,) making them not proprietaries only, but, in a sort, absolute princes within their territories, and God only a titulary monarch of the whole, or proprietary in some principal parts; after it had thus wrought downward,

did in the issue reflect upward. The intellectual conceit of God's proper attributes, their prayers immediately directed to the Trinity, to the Godhead or Christ, were tainted with a spice of that sorcery, or vain observance, which was before observed in the heathens. Some of their liturgies argue as great a confidence in altering God's attributes in their supplications, as Balaam did in the change of places for his sacrifice. Of four or five litanies which the church of Ravenna had in St. Gregory's time, (but more corrupted since,) all now abrogated, not for any superstition, but for conformity to the Roman church, this
997 here following was doubtless the best; because the writer of that history would not have the pattern lost, and the beginning is good, but all the rest naught[o].

Creator mundi Deus, miserere nostri.
Pater de cœlis Deus, miserere nostri.
Fili Redemptor mundi Deus, mis. no.
Spiritus Sancte Deus, mis. no.
Trinus et unus Deus, mis. no.
Rex regum, mis. no.
Rex exercituum, mis. no.
Archangelorum æternitas, mis. no.
Bonitas patriarcharum, mis. no.
Charitas sacerdotum, mis. no.
Divitiæ prophetarum, mis. no.
Electio apostolorum, mis. no.
Fides martyrum, mis no.
Gloria confessorum, mis. no.
Hæreditas levitarum, mis. no.
Juste judex, mis. no.
Charitas potestatum, mis. no.
Lux gentium, mis. no.
Misericordia captivorum, mis. no.
Navigantium gubernator, mis. no.
Orphanorum pastor, mis. no.

[o] Hieronymus Rubeus in his History of Ravenna.

Pacis conditor, mis. no.
Qui es indultor, mis. no.
Remissio peccatorum, mis. no.
Sanitas infirmantium, mis. no.
Tutela virginum, mis. no.
Consolatio viduarum, mis. no.
Excitatio mortuorum, mis. no.
Initium sæculorum, mis. no.
Zelus, et corona martyrum, mis. no.
Salvator totius mundi, mis. no.
Pacem, et concordiam bonam, da nobis Domine.
Gratiam tuam, da nobis Domine.
Sancta Maria, iii. *intercede pro.*

After a catalogue of particular saints and saintesses, first invocated by their proper names, and afterward by way of an universal conclusion made up out of the induction of particulars,

Omnes sanctæ virgines Dei, interced.
Omnes sancti, et sanctæ Dei, interced.

they return again to Christ, and rank his attributes in a short time :—

Christe fili Dei vivi, mis. no.
Tu es Deus omnipotens, mis. no.
Qui in hunc mundum venisti, mis. no.
Qui pro nobis flagellatus fuisti, mis. no.
Qui in cruce pependisti, mis. no.
Qui mortem propter nos accepisti, mis. no.
Qui in sepulcro jacuisti, mis. no.
Qui ad inferos descendisti, mis. no.
Qui tertia die resurrexisti, mis. no.
Qui in cœlos ascendisti, mis. no.
Qui Spiritum paracletum in Apostolos misisti, mis. no.
Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris, mis. no. 998
Qui venturus es judicare vivos et mortuos et seculum per ignem, mis. no.
Miserere nobis Domine, miserere nobis. iii.
Kyrie eleison. iii.

6. Whiles I read these and other litanies used by the Romish church, I cannot but congratulate the wis-

dom and moderation of the church wherein I was born and baptized; which hath so well extracted the spirit of primitive devotion from the grossness of later and declining ages' superstition. These admitted new mediators into their liturgies with as great facility as our corporations do strangers, whom they would have graced, into their fraternities, or as universities do students into their registers. Gregory the Great had crept into this litany of Ravenna (as mine author thinks) after his death, but it seems they had allotted him his place whilst he lived, otherwise they might, without offence unto posterity, have set him below St. Hierom and St. Augustin. Our litany, as it admits no compeers with Christ, no secondary mediators or intercessors, so it useth no interpellations of him, or any Person in the Trinity, but such as well becomes the sincerity and gravity of orthodoxal devotion. Howbeit, the next point I am to prosecute is the ill success which the Romish church's intended reformation of abuses in praying to saints hath found, not the good success of our own; of which, in this place, I have no more to say, save only—The Lord of his mercy grant, that we may be as well inwardly as outwardly conformable to the good orders which our religious ancestors have prescribed.

CHAP. XXXIX.

That the Medicine pretended by Rome-christian for curing the former Disease did rather increase than assuage it.

1. As ordinary bishops have their distinct dioceses, without which their pastoral staves cannot reach; so some saints were particularly honoured in this or that province, not in others. Every bishop, by custom

more ancient than the Romish religion which now is, might have enjoined his flock to do homage unto saints of his own erection; though to bind the whole church unto the service of any hath been an act of œcumenical jurisdiction ever since this custom came up. But to permit the same liberty to every bishop within his diocese which the pope challengeth over the whole world seemed too much unto later popes. For Alexander the Third and Innocent the Third, seeing the abuses which grew by this licentiousness, made a restraint, that none, after their times, should be enrolled in the catalogue of saints, or worshipped, though in some particular country or province only, without the approbation of their successors. So approved, it was a point of sacrilege to deny them solemn worship, or doubt of their admission into the church triumphant. To invest the souls of men deceased with robes of glory is by this reckoning but an exercise of the same authority which gives bishops their palls: we will suppose so. But did Basil, Ambrose, Hierom, Austin, Gregory the Great, or others adored for saints by the catholic church Roman, attain to this dignity by any pope's donation? Were they as solemnly canonized as St. Bernard, St. Thomas Becket, St. Francis, St. Dominick, St. Thomas of Aquine, or some others that died since 999
Innocent the Second? If they were not, either the pope's approbation is nothing worth, or St. Francis and St. Dominick are so much better saints than Hierom, Ambrose, or Austin, as it is worth. Or were these men of such extraordinary worth that they needed no papal testimony? Rather, to affirm this were to deny the pope's supremacy; a point of greater danger in Rome, than to say in England any could be made dukes or earls without the king's majesty's consent or approbation. How, then, came these reverend fathers

by such honour, as hath been done unto them for many hundred years by the universal church? More by custom than by express law or solemn warrant. Bellarmine, out of Aquinas, *prima secundæ quæst.* 97. *articulo* 3 [p], gives us to understand, that as customs in other cases have the force of laws from the tacit consent of the prince (without which they have no force at all, but rather antiquity of error, and continuance of corruption), so the worship of saints, though brought in by the general custom of particular churches, "hath just force and authority, either from the express or tacit approbation of the pope[q]." He is the sole spiritual monarch. I have often read it (though I never believed it), that the visible head of the church speaking *ex cathedra* cannot err in matters of faith; but I never suspected it had been any where written, what now I read in Bellarmine, that the body of the church cannot err in matters of fact, made public only by example and custom, (whose original is more hard to be found out than the head of Nilus,) if it shall please the pope to be silent, or not to pronounce against them *ex cathedra.* But we must cease to be men, before we can believe his holiness to be such an omnipotent god, as can make all them saints whom the people throughout most churches have made choice of for their patrons. Such abuses as bad custom had brought into some places about the time of Alexander the Third, might, for aught we know, have overspread many churches in times before.

2. But if the pope's approbation be sufficient to warrant the public adoration of saints, Alexander the Third was two ways to blame: first, in seeking to reform the abuses or bad customs of most particular churches;

[p] Bellarm. de Sanct. Beat. lib. 1. cap. 8. [q] Bellarm. ibid.

seeing these by his connivance would have been no abuses, or by his approbation lawful services: secondly, in so applying his medicine as there was no likelihood but it should rather exasperate than assuage the present disease, or prevent future contagion. For how far did he restrain the people from wonted superstition? Did he prohibit all men to present their devotions upon their knees, or to vow pilgrimages to any that were not canonized by him or his successors? No, in that the words of the decree expressly forbid all public worship of saints not canonized, the interpreters gather, it was his purpose to allow them private worship. They may yet have household saints of their own choosing, to whom they may tender all the points of religious obsequies hitherto mentioned, not in secret only, but as many looking on as list, so it be not in the open church or in solemn service. For public worship (such as in that decree is only forbidden) is not opposed to secret or private worship, where none besides God and good friends be present. The prohibition of it, unless the penalty be great, and the inquiry strict, licenseth any worship that is not tendered in the name and as the institution of the whole church. Now as printers sometimes gain more by forbidden books than by such as are authorized for public sale, so hath the devil found opportunity to enlarge his service by this unseasonable restraint of it. The universal prohibition to worship any for saints, in public litur- 1000
gies, that were not canonized, hath, by a kind of antiperistasis, intended the people's superstitious bent to worship more private saints than otherwise would have been thought on, with greater devotion, in their chambers or private chapels, than if their open service had been authorized in churches. A man may take a deadly surfeit as well at home as at a public feast; and

spiritual surfeiting or drunkenness being the disease which pope Alexander sought to cure, his prescript was no better than if a physician should strictly charge an intemperate glutton or drunkard to be abstemious at great feasts abroad, leaving him to his belly's discretion at his own table or amongst his companions in private meetings.

3. This our judgment (by these analogies) upon pope Alexander's successless medicine wants not approved experiments. For the intolerable abuse of submissive servitude to a numberless rout of base and obscure private saints was never greater, never more rife, than in the ages between the reformation pretended by pope Alexander, and Luther. And it seems the Trent council[r] was partly of this mind, in that to bishops within their dioceses it leaves more authority in judging of miracles, in admission of new relics, in setting up new-fashioned images, than the former decree (by Bellarmine's interpretation) did. Yet if any doubtful case or questionable abuse of greater moment should any where happen, the consent and advice of the metropolitan and other neighbour bishops must be demanded in a provincial synod, before the bishop of the diocese take upon him precisely to determine one way or other; always provided, that no novelties or rites before unusual in the church be established before they know his holiness's pleasure.

CHAP. XL.

That the Medicine on which the present Romish Church doth now rely is worse than the Disease itself. That they make the Pope a greater God than the Heathen did any other God besides Jupiter.

1. FROM this positive decree we may infer, that not all their private doctors only, as Valentian and

[r] Sess. 25. de Invocatione.

Bellarmine in the name of the rest avouch, but their whole church representative, the council and pope, jointly agree in this conclusion, "Whatsoever religious rite or form of worship is once approved by the pope (thus consulted) may not be suspected of superstition," &c. And when the council professeth their desire that all superstition may be abandoned in the invocation of saints, the adoration of relics, or worshipping of images, their meaning was as if they had prayed that the pope would approve of whatsoever the people should publicly practise; for it is but another part of the former conclusion, that all whom he shall vouchsafe to canonize may be lawfully adored by the universal church in public and solemn liturgies; so that to worship such is now more necessary than it was before.

2. Never had the infernal powers since their fall so just occasion given them by any creatures of insultation and triumph at the wonderful success of their policies, as by these later Romanists; who, as well by apologizing for their superstition towards the dead, (whereof others have challenged them,) as by seeking to reform some gross abuses, whereof themselves were ashamed, have been fetched over to commit more de- 1001
testable and more blasphemous idolatry with living men, than any heathen ever did with their deceased heroics, with their false gods or true devils. Such as worshipped those beastly Roman emperors, whom their successors consecrated, were not bound to believe, nor could their successors persuade themselves, that the senate could not err or do amiss in decreeing divine honour to them. That people, not knowing what faith meant, did only as their chief magistrates commanded them; nor did these command all throughout the empire to be partakers with them in their idolatrous worship. But now to dispute whether the pope

do well or amiss in canonizing men after death whom he knew not living, is held a point of heresy or infidelity. His absolute infallibility, as well in declaring who are saints, as in determining what honour is due unto them, is pressed upon us as a maxim of faith. And is not this to worship him with divine honour? That conceit which the old Romans had of their consecrated emperors came as far short of this divine excellency which papists imagine in the pope, as the Jews' opinion of their Messias, whom they expected should be a king, doth of that esteem which true Christians make of Christ, whom they adore as God. The superstitious knowledge, or rather the practical ignorance of the true God, differeth no otherwise in Rome-heathen and Rome-christian, than the ordinary knowledge of Christ in the Old Testament and in the New. The idolatry of Rome-heathen agrees with the idolatry of Rome-christian, as the type or shadow with the body or substance.

3. Bellarmine giveth Melancthon the lie for saying the Romish church ascribes a divine power to saints in knowing men's thoughts. I ask them, not knowing our thoughts, how can they know our petitions? No catholic, saith he, did ever teach that they know our prayers, as they are conceived in our minds, but as they are in God, who reveals them to his saints and angels. He would not thus fiercely avert the imputation of the antecedent, unless he knew the inference to be legal and unavoidable. To pray then to saints, out of presumed belief that they know the secrets of our hearts, were by his confession to ascribe a divinity unto them, and to worship them with divine honour plain idolatry. Therefore they pray unto them out of assurance that God, who sees our hearts, acquaints them with our hearts' desires. Yet that one saint,

that every saint should by this means know every man's prayers that is enjoined to pray unto them, necessarily supposeth a participation of that infinite knowledge which is incommunicable. To see the secrets of man's heart is one of God's peculiar titles. If saints, by enjoying his presence, enjoy this sight, no reason can be conceived, why, in seeing him, they may not see all things that are in him, all that he sees. And so they shall not be only gods, but (as was observed before) gods almighty by participation. But admitting that all such as enjoy God's presence do hear our prayers, I demand what ground of belief Roman catholics can have, that many whom they must pray unto are partakers of God's presence? Only this, "The pope hath canonized them." But seeing the world is full of dissimulation and hypocrisy; seeing men are partial to give better testimony of such as they seek to prefer, than they can deserve; how can his holiness know them to be true saints, unless he know their hearts by better testimony than human? As a Christian, he knows that *only the pure in heart enjoy the blessed sight of God.* But how can he so infallibly know, as becomes a pope, whether such as lived in England, in Spain, in Asia, America, or other 1002
remote parts of the world, were pure in heart, or but hypocrites? If he may err in this knowledge, the people must err in practice.

4. Their resolution of this point comes to this final issue: Saints celestial see our hearts in seeing God: Roman catholics see the integrity and purity of their hearts whose faces they never saw, in the pope, or by reading his decrees: he stands as God to them on earth, as the true God is to the saints in heaven: he knows as certainly who goes to heaven, and what they do there, as God knows what is done in earth: and

out of this confident belief of his infallible, all-seeing spirit, his creatures pray to St. Francis, Dominick, Aquinas, as unto secondary or intermediate intercessors, with the same assurance of faith, that they do to Christ as to their principal Mediator. And reason they have so to do. God Almighty hath said that Christ is in heaven; and the pope hath said of Aquinas, Dominick, or some other, they are in heaven. Thus, like foolish mariners or freshwater soldiers, after they had been long carried up and down with the blasts of vain doctrine, fearing shipwreck in the open ocean of former ages' idolatry, (and yet ashamed to return to the haven whence they loosed, lest wise men should laugh at them,) they put in at the jaws of hell for harbour.

SECTION V.

Of the Transformation of the Deity or Divine Power in his Nature, Attributes, Word, or Will revealed.

CHAP. XLI.

Transformation of the Divine Nature doth issue from the same Original or general Fallacy from which Idolatry and Multiplicity of Gods was observed to issue, chapter 17.

1. AMONGST the heathen, many, who did not altogether so vainly multiply their gods, did most grossly misfigure the divine nature or Godhead. The common root to both these branches of error, but from which the latter doth more directly spring, and take more kindly, was proneness to conceive of matters heavenly and invisible, according to the best form and pat-

tern which they had of matters visible or earthly. Now to be sole lord of the whole earth, without consorts of like nature, would be a life (to the wisest and healthiest of men) most irksome. And the philosopher, out of a popular opinion either of his own or times more ancient, makes competent store of friends or alliances necessary supporters of felicity. Now as that happiness which in this life they hoped for, supposed friends or other contentments; so the common notion of the Godhead included in it a conceit of happiest life. Jupiter himself, by whose provident care and magnificence the security and good estate of all the rest was 1003
procured, and their necessities abundantly furnished, could not, in their opinions, sufficiently enjoy himself, or be αὐταρκὴς, without associates. Hence they imagined such a correspondency between him and other gods and goddesses of meaner rank, as is between the father of every family, his wife and children, and other domestics; or as is between the chief of every tribe or clan and his alliance or dependents; or at the best such as is between princes and the several orders of their nobility. All the difference, for the most part, apprehended by them, consisted rather in the diversity of degree or order, than in any difference of nature. Parallel to their several notions of felicity (whether private or public) were as well the nature and attributes of the greatest God, as his manner of government proportioned. The form of celestial regiment was by most voices held monarchical or royal, because that by consent of nations was esteemed best. Howbeit, inasmuch as tyrannical abuse of kingly authority had made it odious, it seemed good to have it tempered in heaven, as it usually was on earth, by admixture of aristocratical subpeers, by tribunitial inhibitions of fates, or intercession of other imaginary

powers, supposed as absolute for some particular purposes, as Jove himself was for right disposing the universal. Such as held external feature no small part of their felicity, imagined the gods and goddesses to be of most rare and admirable feature. But the belly had neither eyes nor ears, nor can it be pleased with pleasant sonnets, though of feastings, or with fairest pictures of daintiest meats; men pinched with hunger, or ready to perish for want of looking to, having small desire of wealth or greatness, save only for bettering their fare or attendance. Such smell-feasts as Homer was, or rather such as he sought to please, or set forth unto us, conceived the life of their gods to be such, as themselves would have led, had they been in their place. The greatest part of heavenly joy seemed to consist in the quintessence of such delicates as they had seen or tasted, or in the magnificent variety of royal service. Not much better was the degenerate Jews' conceit of the sacrifice appointed by their God. For that reproof, *Thinkest thou that I will eat the flesh of bulls, or drink the blood of goats?* seems to argue a like faultiness in them of measuring the Almighty's delight by their own appetite.

2. Others out of a philosophical derision of high prized vanities or superfluities, transformed the nature of the gods into that disposition which liked them best. Vacancy from care was the body, innoxious merriment or recreation the soul, of that happiness which they affected as their portion in this life; the whole world was to them but a stage, wherein princes and statesmen served as actors, the alteration of states and kingdoms but matter of comedy to feed their phantasies and pass the time. Agreeable to this humour, their opinion was, that the chief use or care the gods had of men of best wit, place, or fashion, was

no other than men had of apes and monkeys, or than great ones have of fools and jesters, or lords of misrules; which kind of ridiculous creatures are ofttimes better kept and attended than befits their quality, merely for their sport that maintain them.

3. Such as had rightly valued the secret joy of contemplation, in regard of all other contentments or solaces of mortality, rested secure they had done the divine nature no wrong, but grace rather, in admitting it to be chief sharer in this kind of pure delight. Aristotle thinks that if the sweetness of that joy which sometimes had wrought his spirits could be continued 1004
fresh and lively without interruption of contrary disturbances, defatigation, or satiety, it might make up so full a measure of felicity, as might well befit the principal Mover or supreme Disposer of the heavenly orbs, that is, the supreme power which he knew or did acknowledge.

4. Out of the grossest speculations of heathen concerning God much matter of no vulgar consequence might be extracted. Howbeit the best of their wisdom was always mingled with folly, and the purest truth that can be found in their writings still detained in unrighteousness. As in that book *De Mundo ad Alexandrum* (ascribed to Aristotle by greater authorities of the ancient than will easily be overswayed by neoterical criticisms or modern conjectures), how many passages be there consonant to Christian truth about the unity, the wisdom, and glory of the Godhead; and yet, while he seeks to surpass himself in exemplifying the excellency of divine majesty, he finally transforms it into the corrupt likeness of the Persian monarchy. To reserve causes of principal importance to the prince, referring others of ordinary moment to the inferior judges, was a point

of wisdom apprehended by the ancient heathen, yet quickly assented unto by Moses, the man of God, and chief governor of his people. This advice, which he followed upon necessity, was afterwards entertained by secular princes as the mother of ease or nurse of pleasure, by many improved to the maintenance of their majesty. The author of the former book could measure the Persian monarch's greatness by multitude of subjects and amplitude of dominions. But to match these with an equal extent of provident care for the good of most particulars was to diminish his pomp or glory, a great impeachment to his happiness. Glorious and happy he rather seemed in this, that having the absolute command of so many, he needed to trouble himself with the governance only of some few provinces, by nature more choice and delicate, much beautified by art, as so many pleasant gardens to entertain his royal presence with variety of delight. The charge and oversight of others, affording less solace and more toil, was assigned to vicegerents; whose accounts (if called they were at any time to account) were as speedily dispatched, as the brief instructions for their proceedings were given. This over-prizing the contentments of monarchical life, whose practice could plead no warrant besides the limited perfection of human excellency, occasioned a like transfiguration of the Divine Majesty as well in the Latins as in the Grecians: *Magna dii curant, parva negligunt*[s]; "The gods have a care of great matters, but neglect the smaller."

Non vacat exiguis rebus adesse Jovi.

He who had made the earth and all therein must leave the charge and government of it, and all the rest

[s] Cic. 2. de Natura Deorum, prope finem.

of this inferior, tumultuous globe, (as little beseeming so great a Majesty,) unto his angels or deputy gods. The supercelestial region must be to him as was Susa or Ecbatana to the Persian kings, not only the sole garden of his delight, or total sphere of his residence, but the complete horizon of his glorious sight; the immortal inhabitants thereof, the only pupils of whom, without disparagement to his dignity or impairment of his joy or happiness, he might vouchsafe to take immediate and personal charge.

5. Some relics of this Gentile's error, which had been abandoned upon the promulgation of the gospel, have been broached again in school disputes, which usually smell too much of those heathenish casks whence much of them is drawn. Vorstius's 1005
denial of the ubiquity or absolute immensity of the Divine Nature, or his essential coexistence to every place, whether real or imaginable, hath been distilled out of the very dregs of the former transformation. Nor doth these schoolmen's doctrine relish better, which after a formal discussion of an unquestionable truth, (whether God's providence extended in particular to flies or gnats, or such like diminutive creatures, as may rather seem fractions or scattered offals of God's working, than any entire or directly intended substances) have finally determined for the negative. But were the whole host of flies or gnats or baser creatures in persuasion of the vulgar once exempted from God's peculiar jurisdiction, parties much molested with them would easily be tempted to elect a new president for them, and so Beelzebub or Jupiter, *muscarum abactor*, might in time recover his wonted rights by usurpation.

CHAP. XLII.

A Parallel between the heathen Poets and modern Roman Legendaries; between heathen Philosophers and Roman Schoolmen, in their Transformations or Mispersuasions of the Divine Nature, specially of his Goodness.

1. To prosecute all the transformations of the Deity made or occasioned by heathen poets or painters would be an endless work. Nothing more common, though nothing in them more abominable, than the representation of such factious contentions, or of such siding and bandying betwixt the gods, betwixt Jupiter himself and Juno his supposed consort, as they had observed in secular states or societies: *Premente uno fert Deus alter opem*, "One God protects the party which another persecutes." Vulcan is against Troy, and Apollo stands for it. Juno, with the help of Æolus, persecutes the Trojans by sea, after the Grecians had driven them out of their own land. And whilst she expostulates with Jupiter like a smart housewife that takes herself for quartermaster over her own family[s], Venus pleads Æneas' cause, whom Juno persecutes, with such importunity, that Jupiter himself is enforced to humour her with such courteous language and fair promises as a tenderhearted father would use unto his darling daughter much offended or cast down with discontent.

2. It will be no paradox, I hope, to affirm or suppose that the preeminence of the only Son of God over the saints, whether in heaven or on earth, is or ought to be in Christian divinity much greater than Jupiter's preeminence in heathenish theology was in respect of other gods. Notwithstanding, the fabulous

[s] See Virgil, Æn. I. 228. &c.
Tristior, et lacrymis oculos suffusa nitentes, etc.

Roman legendary makes inferior saintesses such consorts to our Saviour, as Juno in the heathen poets' divinity was to Jupiter. In respect of the blessed Virgin, whom they make queen-mother and regent of heaven, he is but as the young prince or pupil, whom this his supposed guardianess may and doth give in marriage to her handmaids. The whole solemnity of the marriage betwixt him and St. Catharine, besides the historical narration, as authentic to them as the Gospel, is so lively represented in most exquisite cuts, as every credulous Roman catholic might, if need were, be ready to make affidavit that he saw the blessed Virgin give[t] St. Catharine in marriage to her Son, that 1006
he saw Christ putting the ring upon her finger, and that St. Paul, St. John the evangelist, St. Dominick, and king David, were present at the marriage, king David playing upon the harp or psaltery. Had this story been extant only in some ancient legend before Luther's time, I should have spared the mentioning of it; but finding it in a book dedicated by a Dominican friar to the provincial of that order throughout the lower Germany, and licensed to the press at Antwerp, within these two and twenty years; I leave it to the reader's consideration, whether Romish monasteries be not privileged from the reformation of superstition, pretended by pope Innocent the Second, by Alexander the Third, or by the Trent council. And, lest Rome-christian should be outvied by Rome-heathen, or other heathen's foolish conceits, concerning their gods or

[t] Ipsis bacchanalibus mundo in vitia effuso, oranti apparet Christus cum S. S. matre virgine, D. Paulo, S. Johanne evang. B. Dominico et Davide rege psalterium pulsante, Deipara virginis dextram Christo porrigit, qui eam sibi in sponsam suscipit et dextram annulo pretioso exornat. D. Catherinæ Senensis selectiora miracula formis Æneis expressa Antverpiæ apud Philippum Gallæuum, 1603.

goddesses, the most fabulous or most hideous metamorphoses of Jupiter into divers shapes, mentioned by any heathen poet, is more than reciprocally paralleled by the transformation of St. Catharine into our Saviour Christ. And lest the reader might suspect that the eyes of Raymund her confessor did but dazzle, or that the vision which he saw was but *deceptio visus*, the legendary hath painted her speaking unto him with the voice and mouth of God himself [u].

3. The Roman catholic that would take upon him to justify the truth of this metamorphosis might allege for himself, and in favour of this legendary, that the new heart which our Saviour upon her earnest and often entreaty put into this his spouse St. Catharine, was such a heart as the voice was, *non hominis sed Dei*, "not the heart of a woman, but of God." That our Saviour did pull out her old heart, and put in a new one in very deed, the [x] legendary avoucheth in good earnest. And if any man had been as hard of belief in this point as St. Thomas was in the article of our Saviour's resurrection, the scar of the sacred wound which our Saviour made when he pulled out her old heart and put in a new one did perpetually remain in the virgin's breast, as an ocular demonstra-

[u] Multis pressa morbis decumbens, dum B. Raymundo confessario quædam divinitus revelata communicat; ipso in quibusdam subdubitante, subito facies virginis fronte ac oculis solis instar micantibus, in Christi faciem commutatur. Territo autem atque inclamanti confessario; Quis est qui mecum loquitur? respondit, Est qui est. The same author, ibidem.

[x] Diu sponsum precata ut cor mundum et novum traderet, apparet ei Christus, divellitque ab ejus pectore cor vetus, novumque restituit. Quod sane usque adeo re ipsa factum est, ut sacri vulneris cicatrix in virgineo pectore perpetuo manserit. The forementioned author, to wit, Michael Ophovius, a licentiate in divinity, and Dominican friar of Antwerp, in his forementioned book, dedicated to the right reverend father Andrew Heynsius, provincial of Lower Germany.

tion to convince the incredulous. Though both be without excuse, yet heathen poets are less inexcusable in that many of their fabulous metamorphoses may admit an allegorical meaning or emblematical importance; whereas the Roman legendaries for the most part tie themselves, and the readers that can believe their miraculous narrations, to a plain literal historical sense.

4. Altogether as gross and less excusable than any heathen philosopher is the Romanist, in seeking to persuade or justify the daily implored intercession of saints by the vulgarly approved practice of court-petitions, which on poor men's parts seldom well succeed, without the intermediation of some great favourite or domestical attendant of the prince. This course, though by necessity made lawful to all, few subjects to our present sovereign would follow, were they fully persuaded his highness could, without declarations *ore tenus*, or written petitions, either perfectly understand their unjust grievances, or hear their hearty prayers, though far distant, or afford time sufficient to take notice of their miserable estate, without molestation or disturbance to his health, contentment, or more weighty consultations. Now, lest the people should think too meanly of the Romish church or her children, if they should openly confess such erroneous practices as could have found no entrance into any Christian's heart but through ignorance of scriptures and incogitancy of Divine Providence, they secretly nurse in their auditors an heathenish misconceit of God's power and goodness; as if either he can- 1007
not or will not take immediate notice of all petitions faithfully exhibited. To say he cannot hear all that sue unto him, is to deny the infinity of his wisdom; to say he cannot redress their wrongs, or effect their

prayers heard, is to gainsay his omnipotency; to say he will not, both ways, do what is best for all faithful petitioners, is to make his mercy and loving-kindnesses to his people less than most princes bear unto their meanest subjects, and to debase his fidelity and veracity below the rate of common honesty. For should (I say not, any royal hearted prince or nobly minded potentate, but) any honestly disposed, able to succour us, solemnly invite us to open our grievances unto themselves, engaging their credit to hear us as readily as any for us; we should much disparage their fidelity by bribing or soliciting their followers to be our spokesmen. Yet saith the Wisdom, the Son of God, God blessed for ever, *Come unto me, all ye that are weary and heavy laden, and I will refresh you.* And must we, with young Samuel, run from the Lord, thus solemnly by his own mouth inviting us, unto old Elis, which never call us? No: it is a way, as more compendious, so far more safe, to say, as often as this or the like everlasting invitation sounds in our ears, "Speak, Lord; for thy servant heareth:" or, "Hear, Lord; for thy servant asketh." Thou hast commended continual prayer, directed not to others, but to thyself, or thy Father for thy sake, as a duty necessary to all. Thou hast assured us we can never be too importunate with him, though we never cease to implore his favour; yea, that for our importunity we shall be heard. *O remember this, ye that have forgotten God and his goodness, lest he tear you in pieces, and there be none that can deliver you:* lest of that infinite number of saints, whom in worshipping you have not honoured, but disgraced and slandered, as Jewish receptors of your sacrilegious devotions, not one appear to make intercession for you, but all against you. For why? ye have robbed God of his honour as despitefully and

shamefully as did those idolatrous Israelites for whose plagues that great prophet and saint of God became solicitor.

5. Every inclination unto evil is apprehensive of opportunities, the greater always readier to take occasion where none is given of doing amiss, and oft-times apt to be most provoked by such motives as in reason should restrain it. As for the Son of God, begotten of his Father before all worlds, to vouchsafe to be conceived and born of a woman in the fulness of time, and in this decrepit age of the world, was a wonderful document, not only of God's unspeakable love towards mankind, but also of his unconceivable wisdom in contriving the redemption of the weaker sex, the manner of whose transgression had made their estate more desperate, and the means of their recovery more difficult; yet how hath the conceit of Christ's humiliation here on earth, of his dependence on his mother during the time of his formation and birth, and of his subjection to her in his infancy, brought forth preposterous and more than heathenish transformations of his glory, in the superstitious daughters of the idolatrous church! They cannot conceive Christ as King, unless they acknowledge her as queen dowager of heaven; her title of Lady is equiparant to his title of Lord; her authority, for some purposes, held as great, her bowels of compassion (towards the weaker sex especially) more tender. And as the heathens frame gods suitable to their own desire, soliciting them most (though otherwise less potent) whom they conceive to be most favourable to their present suits; so hath the blessed Virgin throughout the Romish church 1008
obtained (what she never sought) the entire monopoly of women's prayers in their travails; as if her presence at others' distressful labours (for she herself, by

their doctrine, brought forth her first-born and only Son without pain) had wrought in her a truer feeling or tenderer touch than the High Priest of their souls can have of their infirmities; or as if she would use more faithful and effectual intercession with her Son than he can or will do with his Father. Some in our times, out of the weakness of their sex, matching with the impetuousness of their adulterous and disloyal zeal, have in this kind been so impotently outrageous as to intercept others' supplications directed to Christ, and superscribe them in this form unto his mother; "Blessed Lady, command thy Son to hear this woman's prayers, and send her deliverance." These and the like speeches have moved some good women, in other points tainted rather with superstition than preciseness, to dispense with the law of secrecy seldom violated in their parliaments; and I know not whether I should attribute it to their courage or stupidity, not to be more affrighted at such blasphemies, than at some monstrous and prodigious birth. This and the like inbred inclinations unto superstition in the rude and uninstructed people are more artificially set forward by the fabulous Roman legendary and his limmer, than the like were in the heathen by heathen poets and painters. Witness that page in the Legend of St. Dominick, written by a Dominican friar of Antwerp, and dedicated to the general of that order, in the year 1611. The device is, our Saviour Christ ready to dart his three arrows of famine, war, and pestilence upon the inhabitants of the earth for their wickedness; and the blessed Virgin his mother staying his hand, upon her undertakings for a speedy reformation to be wrought to his contentment by St. Francis and St. Dominick.

Vindicibus scelerum telis Deus impetit orbem.
At virgo; Iratam comprime, Nate, manum.
Spondeo, ait, meliora, homines qui corrigat, ille
Est mihi Franciscus, quin mihi Dominicus[y].

The world with sin-revenging darts to smite,
The Lord he threats;
Her Son, to stay his wrathful hand,
Our Lady thus entreats:
All shall be well, men will amend,
I promise, do not fear:
Saint Francis he this cure shall work,
With Dominick my dear.

6. But that which surpasseth all misconceits of ancient heathens, of Turks, Mahometans, or other modern infidels, is contained in their implicit belief of the catholic church, since it was contracted into the bosom of the pope. In the former point of intercession, amongst many false ones, sundry true saints were intituled to some part of that honour of which they have spoiled God: in this they disrobe him of his fundamental and most glorious attributes, to adorn and beautify wicked monsters; fashioning the infallibility of his promises and immutable counsel of his most sacred will, to the inconstancy of tyrannical lust or fluctuant resolutions of treacherous and perfidious miscreants. In the former point, saints and angels were but abettors of their idolatry; in this latter, God himself is made the sworn patron of murder, incest, and all manner of cruelty; the heavenly regiment of his 1009
church on earth is transformed into a Machiavellian tyranny, not contented to have stained the beauty of the spouse, lest her deformities being openly descried

y Vita et miracula S. P. Dominici prædicatorii ordinis primi institutoris Antverpiæ apud Theod. Gallæum, 1611. Author. Fr. Joan. Nys Dominican. See the same story in prose, in the festival for the Sunday called Sexagesima, printed in the second year of Henry VIII. anno 1511.

should publicly be detested; they seek in latter days to disfigure the bridegroom, and, with the wicked one in the Psalmist, misdeem their Redeemer to be like unto them, because he holds his peace at these abominations; impiously presuming, that in the day of final judgment Christ shall ratify whatsoever the pope *ex cathedra* hath determined: as if your judgment for this infidelity, or their credulity that herein believe you, were not already passed, as if God's vengeance did sleep while he were silent. This point, though prosecuted upon other occasions more at large before, I could not in this place so quickly leave, were it not that I shall have cause to meet with it with fuller indignation hereafter. For I will yet pray against this their wickedness, from which this land can never be sufficiently purged, until the whole seduced flock be constrained, by severe execution of wholesome laws, to do public penance in their apostatical pastors and blasphemous seducers' ashes.

CHAP. XLIII.

Of particular Transformations or Mispersuasions of Divine Goodness alike common to the corrupt Professors of true Religion, as to the zealous Professors of corrupt Religion.

1. GROSSNESS in opinions solemnly avouched, reduced to method, or enstamped with the public seal of authority, is easily discovered by all to whom long accustomance hath not made their poison in a sort familiar, or as part of daily food. Every puny rightly catechised in the points of doctrine publicly established in our church, can clearly discern the late mentioned or other like transformations of the Deity, whether heathenish or Romanish. But did each of us privately use the orthodoxal form of wholesome doctrine publicly professed as a true glass for discovering as

well the obliquity of our own practical resolutions, as the errors of others' known opinions; most of us might see just cause to think that we did secretly wrong the divine Essence no less than they do whom we condemn of open sacrilege and idolatry. No man's passions in this life can be so moderate (if haply immoderate love of his moderateness make him not so partial as not to observe them) but may afford him experimental grounds of this conclusion: "There is no habitual exorbitance of desire or affection, but secretly works a parallel transfiguration of the Deity; no stain or foul deformity in life or manners whereto we give indulgence and dispensation, but will cast the like aspersion upon the immaculate Majesty." To imagine Him, that is the best of all, to be like us in those things which we best like or most approve, is an error almost inseparable from the corruption of our nature, ofttimes rather lopped than utterly extirpated by infusion of grace.

2. Dispositions by nature austere and rigid, or otherwise by height of place emboldened to practise severity, as the supporter of awe and reverence, or as an antidote against contempt, conceit no sacrifice so 1010
acceptable unto God, as strict execution of laws for the most part preposterously partial and severe. And if the great Moderator of heaven and earth permit the accomplishment of their designs, he is apprehended as a favourer of their desires. What seems good to them, the same once effected is entertained as an effect of divine goodness. So Saul would make God the author and approver of the Ziphites' kindness towards himself, and bestow a blessing upon them, as presuming of the Lord's consent; *Blessed be ye of the Lord; for ye have compassion on me*[z]: whenas not the least de-

[z] 1 Sam. xxiii. 21.

gree of compassion or kindness towards him but was extreme cruelty against poor David, a man after God's own heart. And it is a point very questionable, whether the deformedly zealous or hardhearted magistrate, (I mean no atheist,) or the Jews that offered their children unto Moloch, do God more wrong. The one mistook the father of murder and cruelty for a god; the other make the only and true God, which hath no pleasure in sacrifice or burnt offerings, to be delighted in blood, not of bulls and goats, but of poor and miserable men. Every rigid exactor of his own, whether by using the permitted benefit of human law, or misconstrued warrant of laws divine, disfigures his Creator, and makes him a God of justice only. On the other side, such as are ready to kill themselves and their friends with kindness, frame a God of mercy and bounty, utterly dismembered of justice, of indignation, and severity. The dissolute and wanton condemn even necessary austerity of discipline, or any set rules of life of pharisaism, or enmity against Christ; whom by the same error they misconceive to be muchwhat like themselves, though no consort of their riotous or dissolute courses, yet one that will save them sooner than most of such as seem more holy. For did he not open heaven-gates to publicans and open sinners, when they were shut to Scribes and Pharisees? But alas! poor souls, they consider not that publicans and notorious sinners found mercy unsought for, to the end that succeeding ages, how great soever their offences were, should not despair to find it when they diligently sought it. Though God have mercy in as great store for us as for these first converts of the Gentiles, yet may we not desire it by such extraordinary means as they had it. We in the search of it must frame our lives to the pattern which they had set us after it had

found them. They meeting with it, took a solemn farewell of their former sinful courses: so then mercy shewed to them when they were aliens from faith and blasphemers of the truth, did bring forth true repentance. And all our hopes of mercy, or persuasions of actual being in the state of grace, unless they be mingled with a correspondent measure of true repentance, are but the painted fruits of pharisaical and Jewish blasphemy. To the former sort of these delinquents, to the rigid and hardhearted offender, he will declare himself to be such as they secretly imagine him to be, a God of judgment without mercy, because they have shewed no mercy to their brethren. To the latter, to the dissolute and presumptuous, he will approve himself such as they expect not; his justice, which they least fear, will suddenly overtake them, while his mercy, with which they have dallied, shall fly from them.

3. It is hard for any man seasoned with the rudiments of Christian faith to have his heart so full stuffed with malice, as shall leave no confused notion of Christian charity in his head, with whose abstract beauty, or amiable aspect simply considered, the most wicked are enamoured. But as the natural knowledge 1011
of God was by the heathen, so the notions of his graces are still detained in unrighteousness by Christians, in whom any kind of iniquity reigns. Nor is it strange if self-love, which is the common nursery of all misconceits in moralities, bring forth delusorious imaginations of brotherly love's inherence in hearts wherein outrageous malice keeps close residence, seeing to be charitably minded towards others is a quality that makes us most commendable. No man, that thinks too charitably of himself, but will easily be persuaded that he is as charitable as any man living towards

others; towards such especially to whom charity is most due. To speak well of Christ and their king, no man more forward than some kind of drunkards. What they have heard concerning Christ's loving-kindness towards men, they never apprehend so affectionately, as when their hearts are dilated with pleasant liquor. Of other love and benignity than what the cup doth minister, they have no distinct notion or experience. And if at any time they be sweetly merry, without quarrelling or offence, or if each tickle other with exchange of mutual applause or delightful toys, they mistake their meetings for feasts of charity. Some of this sect will not stick to profess how highly they scorn that any dull, sour Stoic's devotion at God's board should be so well seasoned with love, as are their friendly pastimes at Bacchus' table. But if God's ambassador, as time and place require, shall open his mouth against them, it is in their construction but to give a vent unto malice, with whose abundance his heart would otherwise burst. To think thus maliciously of others is held by them, in this humour especially, rather an effect than breach of charity. For not being able to distinguish that true and absolute good which they ought at all times most to affect, from that which seems good to them thus affected, they kindly welcome their eager desires of enjoying the wonted pleasures of good fellowship without molestation for the fruits of peace. There is no fowl of the air nor beast of the field either by kind or breeding so wild or brutish, as to abandon all terms of love or desire of peace with some others; but that excessive love which ravenous beasts bear to their young ones or consorts, doth still animate them with rage and fury against man, their lawful sovereign, and whets their appetite to devour and prey with more than

wonted greediness upon silly and harmless creatures. In like sort, that love which bad minded men mutually foster among themselves always proves the mother of deadly hatred and uncharitableness towards all such as love God and his laws; for these are greatest enemies to that kind of peace which they only know and most desire. Thus by a worse error than can rightly be emblematized by Ixion's fabulous imaginations, the fumes of wine are often mistaken for the motions of the Spirit, factious amity goes current for true Christian society, riotous mirth or other unhallowed solace is entertained as the comfort or peace of conscience, and (which is worst of all) Christ is worse slandered by such consorts, than he was by the Scribes and Pharisees, not for a companion only of publicans and sinners, but for a patron of riot, a friend of dissoluteness.

4. Yet are not these the principal offenders in this kind because their offences, though oftentimes foulest in the sight of men, are not so odious unto the Searcher of all hearts as the enormities of others, who presume more of his special favour and approbation. Many biting usurers or oppressors will be ready to interpret the extraordinary increase of their estate—merchants or great dealers, their success in cheating, 1012
or unconscionable bargainings—ambitious minds, the achieving of their bad suits or unlawful promotions, as undoubted blessings of their God, and sure pledges of his peculiar providence; whenas in truth they are but baits laid by Satan, to make them sacrifice in heart to their own devices or to his lusts, while with their lips they offer praises unto the Lord. All the mispersuasions hitherto mentioned are but so many reciprocations of that deception, which was observed before to be the main conduit or common spring of idolatry

in the heathen. As they admitted all for gods which had done them any extraordinary good, so the carnal minded Christian derives every notable branch of sense-pleasing good from the only true invisible God. The transfiguration of divine essence is in both cases for quality, the same; albeit the heathen delinquent, in ascribing wealth to Mercury, luxury to Bacchus, (the one conceived as a god of cunning, the other of riot, both flexible to men's desires that would worship them,) did less offend, than Christians, equally exorbitant, do in making the pure immaculate Essence, author, abettor, or approver of their exorbitances. Any furtherance of naughty desires, or approbation of unrighteous dealing, suits worse with the known nature of the true God, than the imagination of false gods (fitted to such desires) did with those broken notions which the vulgar heathen had of the Deity. The worst that can be objected to any heathen was their adoration of monstrous, of vile or ugly creatures, for gods. The Christian, in what kind soever alike exorbitant, (if we compare his secret persuasions or presumptions, either of God's favourable affections or indulgence towards his person, or approbation of his enormous actions, with his professed belief of the same God's absolute purity, justice, holiness, and unpartiality,) makes the Almighty Creator, which made him man, (that is, the comeliest of all visible creatures,) an hideous deformed monster. The fashioning of this invisible Creator in visible shape, the multiplication of supposed divine powers so fashioned, were rather accessaries than principals in the nature of this sin which we now reprove. At the least, to distract or divide the divine power into several forms or portions, not much disagreeable to some particular distinct attributes of the true God, is less abominable than to

frame a multiplicity of contrary wills, or commixture of dissonant affections or resolutions, in one indivisible, eternal, immutable Essence. "The divine nature," saith Nyssen [a], "whatsoever it be besides, (for who can comprehend it?) is goodness, holiness, power, glory, purity, eternity. Who is he then may safely say to him, My Father? He whose nature is goodness can be no favourer of bad desires, no patron of wicked purposes. He whose truth shines in whatsoever is good can be no countenancer of the oppressor or malefactor. If one whose conscience is branded with foul sins shall before repentance claim kindred of God; and, being unjust and filthy, say to that just and holy one, My Father! his mouth (whiles he repeats his *Pater Noster*) vents no prayers, but contumelious slanders against God. For by calling him Father (whiles he nourisheth any known sins in his heart), he makes him author and countenancer of his mischievous imaginations." These and the like declarations of this ancient and learned writer upon the Lord's Prayer may serve as an orthodoxal paraphrase or just comment upon these sacred texts of scriptures: *Unto the wicked saith God, What hast thou to do to declare my statutes, or that thou shouldest take my covenant in thy mouth? seeing hou hatest instruction, and castest my words behind thee. When thou sawest a thief,* 1013 *then thou consentedst with him, and hast been partaker with adulterers. Thou givest thy mouth to evil, and thy tongue frameth deceit. Thou sittest and speakest against thy brother; thou slanderest thine own mother's son. These things hast thou done, and I kept silence; thou thoughtest that I was altogether such an one as thyself: but I will reprove thee, and set them in order before thine eyes*[b]. *And if ye call*

[a] Nyssen. in Orat. Dominicam.

[b] Psalm l. 16—21.

him Father, saith the apostle, *which without respect of persons judgeth according to every man's work, pass the time of your dwelling here in fear*[c].

5. Many excellent sayings, muchwhat to the same effect with the former, hath Nyssen in the treatise alleged, none more homogeneal to my last observation than his censure of such as desire God to avenge their quarrels or plague their enemies. This, as was late said, is to make him a monster, or (as much as in us lies) to torture him; whilst we labour to work him to be of a quite contrary disposition towards others than we desire he should bear towards ourselves. *Doth a fountain*, at the same eye or outbursting, *send forth sweet water and bitter?* But they which thus pray, strive by one and the same breath to quench and kindle the wrath of God. The issue of their prayers is, That he who is Lord and Maker of all, to whom the destruction of many cannot be more commodious than the weal and safety of all, should be as a consuming fire or malignant star to some, but as a sweet-gleaming spring sun to warm and cherish others. And yet much happier were this age than any before it hath been, were not the incomprehensible goodness of Omnipotent Power more prejudiced by some modern catechisms or theological explications of his nature and attributes, than by the uncharitable prayer of the heathen, or of rude and uncatechised Christians. Their errors, or unwarrantable glosses, shall, by God's assistance, elsewhere be severed as well from the ancient orthodoxal truth, as from the sacred texts whereon they seek to ground their doctrine: both being usually corrupted, or their purity not discerned by reason of their commixture with man's corruption, or the asper-

[c] 1 Pet. i. 17.

sions which it casts upon them. At this time we only take opportunity to draw the poison of their opinions, rather than their opinions themselves, unto the same head whereto the former corrupt humours have been gathered.

CHAP. XLIV.

Of Mispersuasions concerning Justice and Mercy divine.

1. THERE is in all of us by nature (and it is the remediless remainder of our first parents' pride) a greater desire to be great than to be good: by the strength of this exorbitancy or sinister sway of inbred appetite, men of higher place or estimation, for the most part, become more willing to do that whence their inferiors may receive wrong, than to have the case disputed or their credit called in question, whether the harm redounding to others from their peremptory resolutions be in its nature a wrong, or rather a necessary effect of just authority. The aspersion which this corruption of nature secretly casts upon the Almighty is, that he may, yea doth predestinate most souls created by him to an endless life more miserable than this mortal life, whereof some through sickness, others through age, most through one or other mis- 1014
eries, are often weary; that he did preordain Adam's fall as an unavoidable means for accomplishing this his irresistible will; and that all this may be done without any impeachment to his infinite justice, goodness, or mercy, so solemnly avouched and much magnified in scriptures. Peremptory positions or determinations to this purpose are in these men's judgments far more safe, than to question (though but for private satisfaction or resolution) whether God's absolute dominion over all creatures may fully acquit him from

all suspicion of wrongful or hard using these supposed sons of reprobation. The rigour of this opinion, in part occasioned by this means, finds opportunity of enlarging itself in men, either more inclined or better able to effect what they purpose by strong hand, than to forecast the certain achievements of their purposes by multiplicity of means severally sufficient, and all in their kind moderate and just. For from this prejudicial approbation of those courses as best, which breed them least trouble in dispatch of private businesses, they pass over their assent, without further examination, to a misgrown branch of the former doctrine—That God's absolute decree for manifesting his glory is like their peremptory resolutions for accomplishing what they intemperately affect. And these know no tenor but one—"Thus it shall be, and no otherwise." Such they are as leave no variety of means, no possibility of choice or indifferency for their instruments or actors. Yet, were the course of every secondary agent so infallibly levelled by the first Cause to those determinate effects which they produce, as that they could not, without violation of the law whereto his absolute will hath tied them, be inclined to any other, the perpetual operation of an infinite wisdom would be superfluous to the continual government of heaven and earth. Wisdom more than ordinary (perhaps greater than Aristotle required in his principal Mover) might seem requisite for the first ordering or fixing the several branches of the unresistible power upon their determined and appointed ends; unto which, notwithstanding, being once indissolubly chained (the number of effects possible being in this opinion no more than are determinately and inevitably future), the same wit or skill which serves to keep a clock, would, without further improvement, abundantly suffice to order the

whole course of nature, to guide and moderate the everlasting revolutions of time.

2. Some offend, as lately hath been debated, in seeking to enlarge God's justice by subtracting from his mercy, or contrariwise, every one semblably to the suggestions of his peculiar disposition. The fault properly issuing from the confluence of these humours last touched, is, an extension of his power beyond the circuit of his wisdom, and other attributes of like infinite extent; which, in undoubted consequence, is to restrain and bridle that power, which they would seem above others to enlarge, from extending so far as reason without scripture may rightly conceive the force and efficacy of the first Cause may reach. As we may not give his honour to men or graven images, so may we not rob one of his attributes to enrich another. Although, to speak as the truth in this case requires, he that minisheth any one attribute doth in conclusion maim the rest.

3. The several places or instances of scriptures whereon the diversity of opinions concerning God's love or hate to his creatures is grounded, I must hereafter warily touch and examine with that humility which becomes every true Christian, especially such a 1015
mean member of the English church as myself. In the interim, (not intending to prejudice the conclusions usually received or well approved by learned reformers of religion,) I may presume of every charitable and unpartial reader's leave here and there to untwist so much or so many of their premises, as, were they granted, have not so much force to draw forth the conclusions whereto their authors tie them, as to maim or mangle the Omnipotent power, or, rather, to disarm their Maker of omnipotency. Yet is not this the worst: for unto me it hath ever been a continual eye-

sore of mind, or heart's grief, to see modern spirits, in the pride of their presumed wits, take upon them to grace or countenance conclusions most ancient and orthodoxal, by such new and quaint flourishing proofs, as, had they true life or solid strength in themselves, were able to dead the principal stems of divine goodness, or at least to break off the far-spreading branches of it, and to engraff partial favour and uncouth austerity in their places. And I know not whether, besides the motives mentioned, a niggardly contraction of our kindness to some few friends or acquaintance (occasioned from too much experience or consideration how quickly the fountain of man's benignity dries up by deriving it unto many) do not secretly and unwittingly move dispositions, otherwise misinclined, to cut the wings of God's mercy towards others shorter, that their growth, so far as they shelter themselves and some few more, may be the fuller, and their protection under them more safe and comfortable.

4. This stream of error (arising from the former heads, with whose swift and violent course many are carried away without their express consent, and in a manner against their minds) receives ofttimes an unpleasant relish from an humour wherewith all are in some measure tainted, though the crisis be most evident in great ones. With exaltation to high place or fortunes, there usually shoots up a plausible delight to adorn and beautify their own creatures (as they term them), though it be with the disgrace and spoils of men whom God hath made by birth, education, and other ornaments of nature, far more noble. Secret consciousness of proneness to imitate the mighty in this partial humour covertly suggests an imagination, that the Almighty is herein like them whom we would be like, were our means the same; one, to whom

nothing, not the death and everlasting torments of infinite millions, all created by him, can be displeasant, whilst their dejection serves as means for advancing his mercy towards some few predestinate unto glory and happiness.

5. Only in this I can commend this rigid opinion for its kindness, that it is so forward ἀντιπελαργεῖν, and might well bear this inscription—*Mater me genuit, eadem mox gignitur ex me:* men's natural inclination to partiality first begets this persuasion of God's special favour towards some, and extraordinary severity towards others, as they are his creatures: and this persuasion being once settled in the brain doth animate, augment, and sublimate the inbred partial humour which resideth in the heart. Towards some sort of men, no men living are more kind and loving, towards others, not the wildest creatures breathing are more merciless and cruel, than many favourers of absolute reprobation are. But in the points of reprobation and election, as in divers others, the best and safest method is to begin with the practice of known precepts concerning men, and to end in contemplation of the divine decree. Now the sincere practice of the apostolic rule of doing good to all, though special good 1016
to such as are visible members of God's family, or Christ's church on earth, will best organize our hearts for the right conceiving, and qualify our brains for the commodious expressing of our heavenly Father's goodness. For seeing his mercy and lovingkindness are absolutely infinite in themselves, why should we deny them to be truly and sincerely extended unto all men? though in the issue intensively infinite to his chosen only; on whom, notwithstanding, his sweetest bounties are never multiplied without some proportioned increase of bounty towards others. So often as the

ocean of his lovingkindness towards them doth overflow, many drops are distilled, many showers diffused, yea whole streams of his good blessings derived to such as take no permanent relish or durable tincture of his goodness; not that it is his will his blessings at any time should be fruitless, but that men would not bring forth fruit where fruit justly was expected.

CHAP. XLV.

Of transforming the Word of God into the Similitude of our private or corrupt Senses.

1. SUCH are the mutual embracements or intertexture of truth and goodness, that rightly neither can we judge aught for good which is not true, nor deny any known truth to be in its own nature good. Goodness itself, were it to be defined by me, should be no more than *a solidity of truth;* and to fasten our inclinations upon any object as good, without an apprehension or presumption of it as true, is less possible, than to pierce into the substance of massy bodies without passage through their surfaces. And because our appetite or affection cannot fasten upon any conceited good without a settled persuasion that our preconceit of it for such is true, it hence comes to pass, that when our eager appetites have so far gotten the start of deliberation that we cannot curb or recall them, they draw our minds to be of their opinion, or bring the soul by this colluctance into a kind of waking dream, that all such particulars are true and warrantable which either the understanding for the present cannot be persuaded peremptorily to condemn for evil, or that part or faculty wherein affections are seated not be dissuaded from approving as good. Even such as deny there is a God, or unchangeable rule of truth or goodness, by whose pattern our persuasions and

affections should be framed, strive to apprehend this their wicked imagination as true; because not so apprehended it could give no shadow of present ease or contentment to their galled consciences, always as apt to be grieved with every representation of infinite goodness accompanied with infinite justice, or of infinite truth though wedded with infinite mercy, utterly devoid of partiality, as sore eyes are to be offended with every glimpse of splendent light, albeit seconded with cherishing heat or warmth comfortable to the whole body. Nor can the mind dissuade the affection or sensual part from any misaffected good, but by suggesting these or the like 1017
contrary conceits—That it is a true evil, and only a seeming good—That this desire to have it countenanced with the authority of truth is unlawful. Now whiles these opposite inclinations stand in equal balance, there can be no settled resolution or actual choice. Nor is it possible the affection should, after such debatements, sway the soul to any unlawful practice, unless the understanding (or if any other middle faculty there be which holds the scales, or hath as it were the swaying voice betwixt them) relent or decline from the point whereat it stood, and either assent unto the suggestions of sense for the time being, as true and good, or at least not expressly condemn them for false, nor courageously withstand them.

2. Truths, or mandates divine, considered in general, or without incumbrances annexed to their practice, many there be which affect more vehemently than their more honestly minded brethren. But this fervent embracement arising not from a clear intellectual apprehension of their abstract truth, or live touch of their goodness, but rather from a general affectionate temper *volendi valde quicquid volunt,* "of willing eagerly whatsoever they will at all," becometh the

shop of transforming or mispicturing God's will revealed in his word, whiles they descend to actual choice of particulars proffered in their course of life. Men of this temper (saith St. Augustine), *Ita veritatem amant, ut velint vera esse quæcunque amant:* "Such lovers they are of truth, that they wish all might be true which they love." And vehement desires often reiterated, multiply themselves into persuasions. Sometimes it may be they eagerly affect unopposed truth for its own sake, but withal more eagerly affect those sensual pleasures which most oppose it. Oft-times, again, something in its nature truly good is mixed with or included in those particulars which they strongly affect; and whiles this combination lasts goodness itself is embraced with them *ex accidente.* But being embraced only upon these terms, when the same particulars (after the combination is dissolved) come accompanied with other distasteful adherents, it is loathed by them according to the degrees of former liking. Socrates (saith a witty writer [d]), when he defined *love* to be a desire of that which was beautiful or comely, should have given this caveat withal—That nothing almost is in its nature so unbeautiful or uncomely, but will seem fair and lovely, so it might have a lover's eye for its looking-glass. But Socrates' meaning was perhaps better than this witty writer's apprehension, and was (if I mistake not his dialect) this—That not every desire of any seeming good or comely appearances, but only that desire which is set on goodness, beauty, or comeliness itself, is to be graced with the title of *love.* Howbeit, love or desire thus

[d] Cum Socrates apud Platonem censet amorem esse pulchri desiderium, adjicere debuerat, nisi fallor; Amanti nihil non pulchrum esse, quod Theocritus expressit, ἔρωτι τὰ μὴ καλὰ καλὰ πέφανται.

set, cannot secure affectionate tempers from being tossed or shaken with sense-pleasing opportunities or temptations.

3. That our Saviour's advice is to be followed before any contrary counsel is a point so clear, as no Christian can deny the obedience of speculative assent unto it; yet many men, almost every man, in matters of practice, prejudicial to their private interests, will traverse the meaning, whether of his clearest maxims or most peremptory mandates. His reply to Martha, complaining of her sister for not helping her to entertain him, (*Martha, Martha, thou art careful and troubled about many things: but one thing is needful: and Mary hath chosen that good part, which shall not be taken away from her*, Luke x. 41, 42,) includes a maxim of sacred use, and will warrant this aphorism—"That a life privileged with vacancy from secular employments for better meditation on heavenly 1018
matters, is the most compendious course to that endless life which every Christian proposeth as the sole end of this wearisome pilgrimage." Were our hearts constant in themselves, and steadfastly settled upon the former general truth, it were impossible our inclination or assent to it should not be swayed as strongly to the practices subordinate. Doth then our inclination or assent remove from the former general, whiles it bears off from these or like particular practices? Yes; and would draw our souls to contradictious atheism, did they not, by a nimble trick of sophistical inversion, retire backwards by a contrary way unto the points from which they shrink. Their recovered assent or adherence to former generalities may in some sense be rather accounted the same, than altogether diverse. So might the mariner's needle be more truly said to be fixed upon the same points, rather than diverted

from them, albeit that end which was set upon the south pole were instantly turned unto the north. The natural situation of the former general assent was thus—"The true sense and meaning of our Saviour's advice is always best, and to be followed before any contrary counsel." But when free choice of opposite particulars is presented, it turns thus—"That which is the best course, and most to be followed, is certainly such as our Saviour's words, truly understood, do advise unto." The assent in effect is the same, only inverted. But from this inversion we usually draw justifications or apologies for our most sinister choices. The ambitious mind, from the inverted general assent, thus assumes—"Practical employments for preferment (my opportunities and qualifications considered) are the best course I can take, either for mine own or others' good: wherefore our Saviour's advice to Martha, rightly limited or interpreted, is no way adversant to my intended choice." And if he can light of other sacred passages which mention the advancement of God's saints to civil dignities—as Daniel's wearing a purple robe, and furtherance of the church's cause by his high place in the court—these he takes as sealed warrants to authorize his ambitious desires or self-exalting projects.

4. How many unbeneficed men, in our times, have with great zeal, and presumed fervency of that Spirit by which holy scriptures were written, preached damnation against pluralities of benefices; afterwards allured by the sweet of one to swallow more, and not so content, to condemn their former opinion as conceived from schismatical expositions of scriptures, worthy of excommunication! What was the reason? In want or discontent, they were persuaded, that if no clergyman should have more livings than one, they

might hope to have one at least amongst their neighbours. And the necessity of this doctrine being to them, as they were now affected, the better, was apprehended by equal strength of the same affection, as the more true and warrantable by God's word. But their appetite, first sharpened by want, being once fed with the fat of one, did inflame their desires with undoubted hope of more good, likely to redound from two or more. And because their first opinions or resolutions included less hopeful means or matter of contentment to their present desires, it was to be condemned as untrue, or less probable than this which they now embrace; especially in that the former had been conceived by them when they were scarce men, or men of mean place or little experience in the world, worse by three hundred pound a year than now they are.

5. To maintain their opinions with cracking flashes of burning zeal, or to overlash in commendations of men's persons, is a temper in young men especially 1019
very suspicious, and more truly argues abundance of ambitious humour or unpurified affection, than any degree of sincere love to truth or goodness. For this reason, when either their purposes or affections change, they are so ready to sing *canticum novum*, ditties so strangely contrary to their late passionate songs, that no device can better emblazon the inconstancy of their boisterously blind persuasions, than Polyphemus, as the poet pictures him in his wooing fit:

Candidior nivei, folio Galatea, ligustri,
Floridior pratis, longo procerior alno,
Splendidior vitro, tenero lascivior hædo,
Lævior assiduo detritis æquore conchis,
Solibus hibernis, æstiva gratior umbra,
Nobilior pomis, platano conspectior alta,
Lucidior glacie, matura dulcior uva,

Mollior et cygni plumis, et lacte coacto,
Et, si non fugias, riguo formosior horto.

This was his note, whiles his love did kindle in hope: much changed with alteration of his possibilities;

Sævior indomitis eadem Galatea juvencis,
Durior annosa quercu, fallacior undis,
Lentior et salicis virgis, et vitibus albis,
His immobilior scopulis, violentior amne,
Laudato pavone superbior, acrior igni,
Asperior tribulis, feta truculentior ursa,
Surdior æquoribus, calcato immitior hydro:
Et, quod præcipue vellem tibi demere possem
Non tantum cervo, claris latratibus acto,
Verum etiam ventis volucrique fugacior aura.

6. Is it not a miserable condition whereunto the unconstancy of human passions seeks to bring the inflexible rule of truth, usually wrested to hold as exact consort with our palinodies or recantations as with our first approved lessons; although the one be more dissonant to the other than the latter part of Polyphemus his song was to the former. For without some apprehension of consort with God's word, no dogmatical assertion can be conceived or maintained as true by any Christian, though a Christian only in his conceit. So true it is, which was before generally observed and often intimated, that even the worst of heathenish humours, for the most part, alter only their course, not their nature, in those parts of the world which of heathens have turned Christians: as the sea-water is no less salt in the reciprocation or stanch, than while it boils, or overflows the banks. And, if it be not tedious to resume the burden of this discourse, as the common notion of God's goodness occasioned the heathen to conceit every procurer of any good much affected for a god; so this affectionate love of

divine truths in general fastens our unpurified persuasions unto whatsoever we vehemently love or much affect, as to a truth divine, or practice either warranted or commended to us by the word of God. Love or hatred towards any object, divine or human, if it be unpurified, affectionate, or excessive, is always prone either to slander divine justice, where men are faulty, or to miscensure men's actions in cases overruled by divine justice. [e]Priamus' doting affection towards his unlawful daughter-in-law, misswayed his mind to accuse the gods as authors or direct causes, rather than to suspect her as any occasion of the evils which he feared or suffered. And that unpurified affection which many bear unto truths or goodnesses divine, confusedly apprehended, will not suffer them to 1020 see or acknowledge God's special providence in their punishments. Ready they are, at all assays, to inveigh against, or meditate revenge upon their brethren, for chastisements appointed to them by the finger of God, though executed by the hand of man. God is too good to be the author of evil unto them, though of evil only temporal. That is, in the true resolution of their secret thoughts, they are so well persuaded of themselves that nothing to their apprehension is born or bent to do them harm, besides the envy or malice of other men. Every portion of scripture which reproves or forbids malice, doth, by their interpretation in this taking, condemn all such of malice or envy as any way vex or displease them.

7. What poisonous humour can we condemn in any heathen, whose very dregs are not incorporated in the

[e] Πρίαμος δ' Ἑλένην ἐκαλέσσατο φωνῇ· Δεῦρο πάροιθ' ἐλθοῦσα, φίλον τέκος, ἵζευ ἐμεῖο, Ὄφρα ἴδῃς πρότερόν τε πόσιν, πηούς τε, φίλους τε· Οὔτι μοι αἰτίη ἐσσὶ, θεοί νύ μοι αἴτιοί εἰσιν, Οἵ μοι ἐφώρμησαν πόλεμον πολύδακρυν Ἀχαιῶν. Hom. Il. γ. 161.

grand tyrannous monster of our times, faction, I mean, with its members. To ears animated with the spirit of this blind beast, the least jar in opinion, though concerning matters of greater difficulty than consequence, and better able to abide long search than speedy determination, sounds as a deadly heresy, already condemned by God's own mouth. Not to consort with these men in their occasionless vociferations against others' presumed errors, is, in their verdict, to be backward in religion, to renounce the unity of faith, to give our hearts to the enemy: as he that in singing observes due time or a constant tone amongst such as regard neither, but following the ear rise and fall with most or sweetest voices, shall by immusical hearers be censured as the author of discord. No sect or profession almost throughout any age but hath been haunted with one or other violent humour, with whose tincture if a man can cunningly temper or colour his discourses, he may vent whatsoever he pleaseth, albeit compounded of the very lees and refuse of that heresy which he seemeth most to oppugn. Blasphemy breathed from some men's mouths, so it be spiced or interspersed with holy phrase, is sucked in as greedily by their followers as if it were the spirit of life: the very poison of asps distilling from others' lips, so it be tempered with the infusion or expression of prophetical fervency in reproving sin, doth relish to their factious consorts as the quintessence of zeal. Finally, whilst one factious mind inveighs against his opposites, bitterness itself becometh sweet to his associates; but if an indifferent man shall sift the doctrine, refute the error, or reprove the passions of the one or other, his discourses, though seasoned with the spirit of meekness, of sincerity, and judgment, breed a grievous disgust in both.

8. The true original or root of this accursed partiality, in putting good for evil and evil for good, honey for gall and gall for honey, will better appear from a more particular inquiry or philosophical search of the means by which it comes to pass, that the selfsame sense or exposition of scriptures, which ere whiles did most offend, should forthwith best please the very same parties. And, lest I should give offence to any Christian reader, the instance shall be chiefly in those with whom all Christians are justly offended.

CHAP. XLVI. 1021

Shewing by Instances of sacred Writ, that the same Sense of God's Word which sometimes most displeased, may shortly after most affect or please the selfsame Parties: with the Manner how this Alteration is wrought.

1. ACTUAL fruition of excessive pleasure either hinders the working or dulls the apprehension of inherent grief: so doth satisfaction of vehement desires (because most pleasant) drown all taste of petty annoyances, and dead the impression of such ungrateful qualities as accompany the quality eagerly affected. Extremity of thirst will make a man to be in charity almost with any kind of moisture, and cover a multitude of faults in drink, of which no one but would be very offensive to a taste not misaffected. For thirst is but an appetite of cooling moisture; and this appetite being intended by a violent heat or dryness, the organ wherein it resideth takes no notice of any other quality besides that which best contents it for the present. All others that accompany it are welcome or pass unquestioned for its sake, so the sense of cooling moisture be not abated by their presence. From a cause in true philosophy muchwhat the same, it is, that if one string be stiffly bent and an-

other slack, only one doth sound, though both be touched. For the same reason, violent passions, intensive desires, or strong affections, either strain out or suck in only so much of the sense of scriptures as symbolizeth with themselves. Such circumstances as in sober examination would make most against us, leave no impression in our minds much bent upon any private purpose. What could have been more offensive to the Pharisees (not moved with bitter opposition to the Sadducees) than St. Paul's doctrine of Christ's appearance to him after his resurrection? The very mention of his appearance to him once in the way to Damascus, afterwards in the temple, persuading him the second time to preach his resurrection to the Gentiles, had made them ere while cry out, *Away with such a fellow from the earth, for it is not fit that he should live*[f]! But, as the philosopher saith, τοὺς ἐγθίστους συνάγει ὁ κοινὸς φόβος, "common dread will unite most disagreeing hearts." For this reason professors of contrary opinions (so both steadfastly hold the general) will join forces against the third, that contradicts or undermines the common foundation. All inclination to exercise enmity is rooted in a hope or possibility of preserving proper entity safe and entire. What could it then boot the Pharisees to brangle with St. Paul about Christ's resurrection or appearance, whilst the Sadducees, by denying all apparition of spirit or angel, or hope of resurrection from the dead, did not so much oppugn him as the very foundation of their religion? Unto this passionate and vehement distaste of the Sadducees' doctrine, Paul's conformity with the Pharisees in birth, education, and generality of belief, doth relish so well, that his particular differences or dissen-

[f] Acts xxii. 22.

sions from them no way disaffect them. He avouched expressly, that Christ whom they had crucified did appear unto him; but they apprehended it to be after such a manner as God's angels did in times past to their fathers. Now this kind of appearance witnessed the truth of the Pharisees' opinions, that there be spirits or angels; and Paul's seasonable proffering of 1022
this testimony doth so please their humour, that the Scribes, which were on the Pharisees' part, acquitted him by proclamation—*We find no evil in this man: but if a spirit or angel hath spoken unto him, let us not fight against God,* Acts xxiii. 9. That thus far they favoured him was not out of true love either to his person or any part of the truth he taught, but from love of themselves and their opinions, from jealous impatiency of contradiction in public place by an inferior sect[g]. So likewise we read in the Gospel, when our Saviour from God's word to Moses had most divinely proved the resurrection, (*I am the God of Abraham,* &c.) and fully satisfied a curious question, so captiously proposed by the Sadducees, as would have puzzled the greatest rabbi amongst the Pharisees, certain of them answered, *Master, thou hast well said,* Luke xx. 39. They like well he should be a witness of the resurrection, that being one special point which their credit lay upon to make good unto the multitude against the Sadducees: but as ready they are to adjudge him to death for avouching himself to be the great Judge of such as were raised from the dead, howbeit his raising of himself from the dead did prove his words to be most true; and so would the manner of his appearance unto St. Paul (which now they grant) have clearly evinced both his resur-

g Φιλοῦσι τοὺς μισουμένους ὑπὸ τῶν ἑαυτοις μισουμένων. Arist. Rhetoricorum, 2. cap. 4. [§. 7.]

rection and coming in glory unto judgment, (whereof it was a transient but real representation,) so their assent unto St. Paul in that assembly had been sincere and free, not forced by factious opposition to the Sadducees. The inconsequent issues of this general truth acknowledged by them testify that their approbation of our Saviour for being a witness of the resurrection, and their condemnation of him for avouching himself judge of such as were raised from death, did issue from one and the same corrupt fountain—from love of authority over the people, and applause of men—from a stubborn and envious desire to excel their opposites, and not to be excelled by any. With their affections thus set, our Saviour's doctrine indefinitely considered sometimes had conjunction, and then they mightily applaud him; but oftener opposition, and then, Polyphemus like, they more maligned him.

2. Admit we could justly acquit ourselves from other points of Pharisaism, that spirit of contention and wayward emulation which this day reigns throughout Christendom, and rageth ofttimes no less in defence of good causes than in maintaining or abetting bad, will as easily fetch over such as retain the general or public form of sound doctrine, to concur with heretics or godless men in transforming particular places of scripture which make for private desires, as factious opposition to the Sadducees did the Pharisees to consent unto our Saviour and to St. Paul in the points late mentioned; albeit they did detest the principal articles, the very pattern of that belief which they propagated to the world. That admonition to the Philippians, as it concerns these times as much as former, so doth it the maintainers of true religion most of any: the admonition was, *Let nothing be done*

through contention or vainglory; but that in meekness of mind every man esteem other better than himself. Phil. ii. 3.

CHAP. XLVII. 1023

Of dreaming Fancies concerning the Sense of Scripture in the Romanist, in the Jew, in the Separatist or Enthusiast.

1. It were easy to instance in many controversy writers, which, in hot pursuit of their adversaries, have swallowed down passages of scripture or other authorities, whose true sense, if so sifted as every circumstance might make full impression upon their composed and settled apprehensions, would be more against them than for them; as their authors (no question) agreed no better with the allegator's doctrine than Paul did with the Pharisees. The impertinent collections of monks and friars to prove purgatory from such places of scripture as have no other semblance with it save only that they mention metaphorical fire, would make an unpartial reader call to mind (if so he had read it) the fable of the apes, which, espying a glowworm in a winter's night, gathered sticks, and blowed themselves breathless to make them burn. Did not this imaginary flame produce such a real warmth to the malignant crew as is able to hatch an extraordinary desire of having the fire, by what means soever, still maintained, impudency itself would blush and stupidity tremble at their senseless petulancy in this argument. As the learned papist hath no parallel (the Jew excepted) in this kind, so in the main points of their religion—as in the doctrines concerning the authority of the church and the sacrifice of the mass—they do not go so much beyond others as besides themselves. The weight or consequence of the matters contained in the mentioned controversies breeds an

extreme desire to have their profitable tenents countenanced by sacred authority; and extremity of desire, an unsatiable thirst or greediness of sucking and wringing those texts of scripture, which, in colour of words or literal show, do seem at first sight to make somewhat for them, but in truth and substance manifest the poison of their doctrine, and argue their eager appetite in maintaining it to be a spice or symptom of spiritual madness. To prove the sacrifice of the mass, some, not content to urge that of the prophet, *And they shall offer a pure oblation to me in all places*, or Melchisedeck's offering consecrated bread and wine, (which being once granted would everlastingly overthrow it,) would persuade us the Latin *missa* was coined in the Hebrew mint from מסס, *masas*, which in the first signification imports as much as *to blow*; whence the verbal מססה, *missah*, in a secondary sense, signifieth *tribute* or *poll-money*. The implication is, the very name of the mass imports that this oblation or sacrifice is God's tribute, to be paid unto him as duly as Peter-pence is to the pope. Their own acknowledgment of this doting fancy in some of their writers leaves a suspicion, whether it were a true relation rather than a mere jest put upon that ignorant priest, who, being put to find the word *mass* in the scriptures, after a long and wearisome search, when he was ready to give over or fall asleep, lighting upon those words in the first of John, *Invenimus Messiam*, cried out, "We have found the mass! we have found the mass!" to the confusion of the heretics.

2. I know not whether the prophets' interpretations of dreams and visions were of greater force to persuade the heathen that the spirit of the immortal gods did
1024 dwell in them, than such dreaming interpretations as later Jews do make of prophecies or other divine

oracles are or might be of for confirming Christians' belief that the Lord hath sent a spirit of slumber upon them, so like they are in their comments or meditations upon scriptures concerning Christ unto such as dream. The same fantasms which by floating in our brains breed dreams by night, present themselves to our waking thoughts by day, but want opportunity to deceive so long as our eyes and ears are open to receive foreign information. But whiles the external senses, which serve as witnesses, and that principal internal sense which sits as chief magistrate in the inferior part of the soul, are surprised by sleep, the vainest fancies the brain can represent pass for current without examination or check. The fantasy or common sense is as credulous of their suggestions or obtrusions, as illiterate, ignorant, or unexperienced people are of counterfeit commissions or pretended warrants. As at this instant, though I think of my good friends in London, yet the sight of Oxford, and other undoubted pledges of my presence in this place wherein I am, will not suffer my soul to be miscarried with false imaginations of being elsewhere; whereas whiles the gates of these outward senses are shut, and the passages from the principal sense internal or examinative faculty stopped, the model of that famous city rolling in my fantasy would forthwith breed an imagination that I were in it in their presence whose image or representation only is present with me. Upon appearances altogether as light and frivolous are the Jews transported from Christ, now fully manifested and presented to them, to embrace such shadows or prefigurations of him as had fallen out in the days of their patriarchs or ancient kings. No man that reads their writings but will perceive many fantasms or models of evangelical truth swimming in their heads; but the veil

being laid before their hearts disenables their judgments for distinguishing figures from substances, or apparitions from realities.

3. The relics of orthodoxal truths which unto this day work in this heartless people's brains would be sufficient to form Christ crucified in the hearts of heathens, not given up to a reprobate sense. For example, that practical prenotion, "Gebher hath sinned, and gebher must be punished," whereon they ground their ceremonies in the feast of atonement, being construed according to its literal and natural sense, is in effect the same with that divine oracle, *As by man came death, so by man came the resurrection of the dead*, or with that fundamental article of our belief, that man was to satisfy for the sins of men. But the passages of these later Jews' internal senses being locked up in a deeper slumber in the day of their solemn feasts than our external senses are in the dead of the night, the clear representation of the former Christian truth makes no impression in their heart, but vanisheth into a heathenish dream. Like so many men that use to walk and rave in their sleep, they unwittingly act our Saviour's sufferings after the manner of an interlude, putting *gebher*[h], which in their rabbinical language signifieth *a cock*, for mere affinity of name (for *gebher* in Hebrew signifieth *a man*), unto all the tortures they can devise; adding withal, that every *gebher*, every man amongst them, deserves to be so dealt withal as they deal with this poor creature; nor is any creature of this kind so fit for this purpose in their fantasy as a white one.
1025 Their several fantasms or prenotions concerning this mystery rightly put together, and examined by vigilant

[h] Vide Buxtorf. Synagoga Judaic. cap. 20. [p. 402.]

thoughts, signify thus much—that the matter of the sacrifice by which the atonement for man's sin was to be wrought, was to be a *gebher*, a man without blemish or spot of sin.

4. If any prophecy include the least historical reference or allusion to Abraham, to Moses, David, or Solomon, (as the first draught almost of every prophecy is some former history,) this is a motive sufficient to these blind guides to interpret the place as wholly meant of these types alone; Christ, who is the body therein presented, (God blessed for ever, which upholdeth all things by the power of his word, the very centre, though they perceive it not, whereon their souls do rest,) hath no more place in their thoughts, than the bed wherein we lie hath in our night imaginations of walking or talking with our friends either deceased or far absent. Every metaphor or resemblance borrowed from things visible, as moulds for fashioning our conceits of matters spiritual or invisible to be accomplished in the life to come, makes these miserable wretches quite forget the estate as well wherein they are as whence they are fallen, and casts them into pleasant dreams of glorious monarchies or kingdoms here on earth; still bragging as if they expected every next morning should be their coronation day; as if they would make the world believe the sun did daily rise to grace or attend their reespousals to their glorious God.

These are the offspring of those sometime virgins, but foolish ones, who having outslept the time of the bridegroom's coming, have not till this day been able to repair their lamps; but since his departure have sat in perpetual darkness, bringing forth children even in such deep midnight sleep, that the slumber

cannot to this day be shaken out of their eyes, nor their brains delivered of this hereditary drowsiness.

5. Many partakers they have in this frenzy from originals muchwhat the same or very like. For from a reason not much unlike unto the cause of dreams it is, that external noises ofttimes consort so well with internal musings, as if the one were but the tune and the other the ditty, or one the base and the other the treble. Perhaps the sound either starts some notion afresh, or causeth us in this temper to resume our former thoughts, whence we imagine it tells us, as it were, by word of mouth, what it only suggests by natural motion. And sometimes, as if we meant to save ourselves a labour, or spare our breath, which would be spent in speaking, we tacitly articulate the sound of bells, or other tunable bodies, as if they did audibly speak what we inwardly muse. Musing and dreaming are of near alliance; the fancy in both is apt to weave in every circumstance or occurrent that hath the least semblance or connexion with the principal matter represented or thought upon. In dreams the principal or judicative sense is so bound with sleep, that it cannot examine intimations given by the fantasy. In musing, the fantasy is so contracted within itself, that it can neither receive instructions from the understanding, nor give it perfect information from representations made by external senses. But from what original soever these erroneous imaginations or fallacies proceed, they insinuate themselves after the same manner into such as dream, and such as rather muse than meditate upon scripture. Nor is there any other means to prevent their insinuations,
1026 besides vigilant and attentive alacrity to sift and examine every circumstance, by setting our imaginations

awork to countersway our extemporary conceits or apprehensions with all contrary inducements possible. He that thinks on nothing but on confirming his own conclusions or apprehensions, will quickly persuade himself the word of God (specially if he hear it alleged or see it quoted by others) speaks just so as he thinks, and proffers itself as a witness to give testimony *viva voce* to the truth of his present cogitations. To the superstitious palmister or chiromancer, that saying of Moses, Exod. xiii. 9, *And it shall be a sign unto thee upon thine hand*, &c., and that in Job, chap. xxxvii. ver. 7, *Qui in manu omnium hominum signat, ut norint omnes opera sua*, sound as fundamental theorems of the art which he professeth, that is, of making such prognostications of all the changes and chances incident to this mortal life by inspection of the lines or wrinkles in the palms of men's hands, as the astrologer doth change of weather, or of men's fates or fortunes, by observing the positions or aspects of stars. Generally, brains apt to busy themselves with curious thoughts or scrupulosities frame such compositions of sacred lines, as men in frenzy, or other like grievous distemper, do out of scrabbled walls or painted cloths. The one makes foolish or monstrous pictures of true colours, the other draws senseless and ridiculous inferences out of divine and supernatural antecedents. Unless I had compared the marginal quotations of some anabaptistical and schismatical discourses with the text, and both with the conclusions intended by their authors, I should hardly have conceived it as possible for a man to speak nothing but gospel, and yet to speak scarce a true or wise word.

6. This kind of dreaming temper in many hinders the breaking out of the former general seeds of error, unto whose workings inwardly it usually affords ad-

vantage and opportunity. Desire of proper excellency is a disease hardly cured in any, and ofttimes works most indefatigably where it works most secretly. In many it seems altogether mortified, when it is only stiffened by being cut shorter, or gathers strength by contraction to a smaller room. To excel others in many points men of this disposition will not strive; to be excelled in most, they can suffer with patience. God's gifts of wit, of learning, and judgment, they will admire and magnify as much as any, in others, whose industry and opportunities of increasing their talent in sacred negotiations they cannot but acknowledge greater than their own; yet will they not in conclusion be persuaded that any man not of their own sect or disposition knows so much of God's eternal will and purpose as they do. Others' general skill in scriptures, if it be great, is for this reason alone suspected to be unsanctified. The stronger the reasons brought against them be, the forwarder are they to appeal from reason unto scripture; as if grace did abolish as well the life or remnant of nature's integrity as her corruptions; as if God's law or written word did rather obliterate than refine and quicken the imperfect characters or lifeless lineaments of nature's law written in our hearts. Thus to abandon the help of arts and natural reason in this search they have good reason, if we respect the end whereat their desires covertly aim. For arts and reason being once included from examination or trial of sacred mysteries, their irrational and surd conceits of scripture's sense in particulars which they stand upon may be as well esteemed as the most forcible deductions that can be drawn from the fundamental maxims of religion, or conclusions
1027 exactly and demonstratively paralleled to the rule of faith. If allegations of sacred authority might once

by multitude of men's voices thus affected be taken by number rather than by weight, to refute the anabaptist, the separatist, or maintainers of other modern errors, would be a matter so much the harder, as the refuter is more judicious: for the better his judgment is, the more accurately will he search or sift such circumstances as at first sight wed these men's persuasions to their own dreams or fancies. To avoid their fallacies, the reader is to remember that their modesty in some cases no way acquits them from imputation of extreme pride and insolency in many points of Christianity. Few there be so transcendently conceited of themselves, but will yield to known professors of those faculties wherein they are not conversant. So on the other side, not many there are that will not stand upon their skill in those particulars whereto they have been wholly addicted, or long employed in. It is no marvel then, if such as for expounding greatest mysteries have wholly betaken themselves to the spirit, or to men's labours whom they presume to be throughly sanctified, do as lightly esteem the opinion of greatest scholars, ancient or modern, in divine mysteries, as they highly magnify their wit and judgment in artificial learning or sacred generalities: for matters of sanctification, of election, and salvation, are as the only trade or faculty which these men profess, and of which they deem their own corporation only free; others not fit to be consulted, or at least their voices not to be taken, until they have served the like complete apprenticeship to their supposed spirit, or been as long professors of the pure word alone, renouncing all commerce with natural reason. They are more offended with their followers for having recourse to it, than ordinary tradesmen are with their servants or apprentices for haunting alehouses, taverns, or worse places.

7. Their first intention, I am verily persuaded, is to magnify God's grace, more than others (to their thinking) do. Now it is a maxim as plausible as true, that God's graces can never be magnified too much by any. But it is a fault common almost to all, to do many things much amiss, before we have done them half enough. The wisest oft miscarry in their projects; these men err in their very first attempts, their very intentions are mislevelled, in that they think there is no direct way to grace but by declining helps of art or gifts of nature. The first and immediate issue of this persuasion (thus seeking to nurse a perpetual irreconcilable faction betwixt scripture and reason, to magnify grace by nullifying nature and art) is, that every action which is not warranted by some express rule of scripture, apprehended by grace, is *non ex fide*, "not of faith," (whose only complete rule is scripture,) and being not of faith it must be a sin; so that these two propositions—1. All actions warranted by the express word of God must needs be lawful; 2. All lawful actions must needs be warranted by the express word of God—differ no more in their logic, than this verse read forward doth from itself read backward for grammatical sense,

Odo tenet mulum madidam mappam tenet Anna.

And after once (out of a scrupulous fear to sin in any action by following reason without express warrant of scripture for the particular) they have for a while accustomed themselves to level every action or saying, and to square each thought by some express suitable rule of scripture, the scripture and their thoughts or apprehensions become so entwined, that in fine they are persuaded whatsoever they have done, thought, or spoken, in matters concerning God or Christians' duties,
1028 is warranted by some express rule or other of sacred

writ; whose testimonies for the most part they use no otherwise than men in high place and authority often use the *placets* or suffrages of their inferiors, to countenance their peremptory designs by way of ceremony or formality; which if they do not voluntarily, they shall do at length against their wills. Concerning the true meaning of that maxim, *Whatsoever is not of faith is sin,* we have elsewhere[e] delivered our opinion. The scripture we grant to be the complete and perfect rule of faith, to be the only rule likewise of planting the root or habit, whence all good actions or resolutions must grow. It is not the only rule for rectifying every particular branch in the growth. These must be rectified by necessary or probable deductions, which reason or rules of art, sanctified by the habit of faith, frame out of scriptures or sacred maxims.

CHAP. XLVIII.

Of the more particular and immediate Causes of all the forementioned Errors or Mispersuasions.

1. To give one prime philosophical cause of all or most moral mispersuasions or transfigurations of sacred oracles, is perhaps only possible to the Cause of causes. Two maxims nevertheless there be undoubtedly experienced in matters natural, from which, as from two principal heads, the main stream of errors doth most directly spring, though much increased by confluence of such fallacies as have been deciphered. The maxims are, one, *Intus apparens prohibet alienum,* common in philosophical schools; the other, *Mota facilius moventur,* as well known, and of as great use amongst the mathematics, or such as write mathematically of mechanical instruments. The efficacy of every agent

[i] In the second Book upon the Creed, first section.

results from the fit disposition of the patient; whence it is, that the internal distemper or indisposition of the organ will not admit the proper stamp or impression of any external, though its proper object. Not that any distemper can so prevent the force, or any indisposition so dead the agency of the object, as it shall not move and agitate the organ, or that it is possible for the organ, being moved or agitated by external objects, to be altogether barren. For the very motion of it is a kind of conception. But the organ being prepossessed by abundance of heterogeneal matter mingled with it, the impression or conception proves like the monstrous brood of males and females of diverse kinds. [k] And the more vehemently the organ is agitated, the more sensible is the representation or apprehension of the inherent humours; and inasmuch as the object is rightly apprehended as the cause of this actual motion or representation, it is likewise judged (but amiss) to be such itself as the motion or representation which it worketh. Thus we sometimes misgather those things (the sun for example) to be hot themselves, which produce heat in others; those to be cold, which cause sense of cold; those moist, which leave an impression of moisture where none was or was unfelt before their operation: yet is the moon neither cold nor moist in itself, although the true cause of coldness or moistening in subjects aptly disposed to either quality. Brains stuffed with cold will easily suspect fragrant or unknown odoriferous perfumes of the loathsome smell which indeed they cause by provoking the putrefied phlegm to imprint itself upon the
1029 organ. As the sun shining through a red glass transports the redness upon the eye, and being the imme-

[k] Distemper is a kind of motion, and the greater the distemper of the organ is, the more apt it is to be agitated by the object.

diate cause of the actual representation now made, is judged to be of the same hue; so external colours presented to eyes subject to suffusion or possessed with real effluxions of other visibles, cause a representation of those internal humours in the organ, whence, colours external being the true cause of our present actual sight, we deem them to be like unto the internal humours which are seen. Many like irritations of the flesh are usually caused by the Spirit, seeking to imprint the right sense or character of God's word, could the polluted heart or mind, infected with prejudicate opinions, admit the impression. But carnal lusts or implanted fantasies, being by this means set on working, conceive a depraved sense, or a sense quite contrary to the Spirit's meaning, and yet imagine it to be suggested by the word of God, only because it concurs to the actual producing of such humours or fantasies.

2. There is no error but hath its nutriment from truth, in whose root it is engraffed like a wild plant in a natural stock; no vice but hath similitude in part with one or other virtue. Now where vice or bad habits do abound, no character of any moral virtue or precept divine can leave any true stamp or complete impression of itself: well may it move or tickle the predominant humour, with which it symbolizeth in part. The covetous and niggardly disposition will solace itself with precepts of frugality, and this solace, taken in a conceited conformity to the rule of life, doth stiffen him in his wonted sin. The commendations of ingenuity or freedom of spirit sympathize well with brave resolute minds, as they do in part with stubbornness or self-will; and the applause which the stubborn or self-willed take in this their partial sympathy with the temper of saints or holy

men, works a delight in them to glory in their shame. So the praise of valour or courage in good causes is as a watchword to foolhardiness, which once started will admit no curb or restraint from any sacred precept commending wariness or ingenuous fear. The approbation given by God's word to excessive zeal or indignation swelling upon just occasions, ofttimes provokes malicious dispositions to vent their bitterness in a kind of affected imitation of saints. Now not only all imitation of counterfeit goodness, but all counterfeit imitation of true goodness, will in the end bring forth true and real naughtiness. Generally, as the word of life and grace where it fructifies doth translate our natural dispositions into goodness supernatural, so the opinion or presumption of having our actions warranted or our dispositions countenanced from God's word or will revealed, doth sublimate all corruptions by nature inherent, or acquired by custom, into a degree of evil more than natural.

3. These gross preposterous misconstructions admit no set bounds or limits of increase or waning besides the different degrees or qualities of the humour whence they spring. As excessive intemperance breeds an hate or loathing of divine goodness, and disposeth to an amity with hell; so in others rightly persuaded, as well of the truth of the Deity, as of the veracity of his written word indefinitely conceived, some particular roots of bitterness may be so venomous and malignant, as will cause them to cast aspersions of blasphemy upon the salvifical sense of these sacred oracles, and to deify contrary misconstructions prompted only by the lusts and corruptions of the flesh. Choler in some men, though abundant, is forthwith pacified with placid behaviour or gentle language; but in others is so peevish and fretful, as maketh them interpret all ad-

dressments to pacifications to be but mockery. That which at other times to them, or at all times to other 1030
men, would be reputed affability, is in the heat of present distemper flattery; what others would take for true submission, or be glad to entertain as a serious proffer of reconcilement, whiles this humour is stirred, is dissimulation or subtilty to entrap them. The reason of such uncharitable misconstructions is the same which was given before. Whatsoever is obvious to thoughts inwardly perplexed or grieved is apprehended as evil, because it revives or exasperates the cause of grief; and being apprehended as irksome to their present dispositions, the understanding or fancy must play the parasite, and make good such imputations as the predominate humour lays upon the object. Others' words or gestures always provoke some motion in us, and with the motion some humour or other is set on working. Now if the humour be tart or bitter, the motion of it will be unpleasant to the party in whom it resides. For this reason men sickly or choleric prosecute all that speak to them, or whatsoever moves the fretting humour, with the same dislike they have of it or their internal grievances thus occasioned. All is one, whether the speech or behaviour be fair or foul, so the irksome disposition be exasperated, which sometimes is more offended with the antipathy of affability or proffered courtesy, than with churlish or boisterous opposition of the like temper in others. For being boisterously opposed, it either relents or finds opportunity to exonerate itself, and spend its venom by vehemency of provoked motion, but gathers strength by fretting inwardly at their speech or gestures which unseasonably endeavour to allay it; as the spring-sun by stirring humours, being not able to draw them out or digest them, produceth agues. Some tempers of mind

in like sort there be, very apt to be offended with divine truth either bluntly, obscurely, doubtfully, or unseasonably propounded, and yet as ready to be friends with it distinctly and placidly represented. Others are so tainted with the sour leaven of Pharisaism, that the more evident the truth is made, or more plausibly delivered unto them, the more bitterly they malign it and the proposers of it; for the inward grief of a worm-bitten conscience doth more disquiet the soul and spirit, than any choler can do the body or animal faculty. Thus the high priest rent his clothes at our Saviour's interpretation of that place in Daniel, *Hereafter shall ye see the Son of man*, as if he had spoken blasphemy. Albeit his manner of delivering this divine truth, manifest enough to sober examiners, were most placid, and in terms mitigated below the tenor of a direct answer to the question proposed. Had he prophesied to have made them kings, or upon opportunity of his late triumphant entertainment interpreted the prophet's words of himself then coming as their general to outbrave the Romans with golden shields or glittering armour, he might have gained that applause which they afterward gave to Herod, *Non vox hominis, sed Dei.*

SECTION VI. 1031

Of Qualifications requisite for conceiving aright of the Divine Nature and his Attributes.

CHAP. XLIX.

The general Qualifications or first Ground for preventing Misconceits of the Divine Nature or Attributes is Purification of Heart.

THE heathens grossly either multiply or misfigure the Divine Nature; we varnish their unsightly pictures, or conjoin their distracted representations; both misproportion or deface Him in his attributes. Now as it is the corruption of nature, wherein we communicate too deeply with the heathen, which maketh us partakers of their sins, so shall we prove ourselves more unexcusable by much than they were, unless their example excite in us religious care and alacrity to use those means which many of them by light of nature (questionless without the internal light of grace) saw to be necessary for attaining the true knowledge of the Deity. To the better sort of them it was a clear truth and a received maxim, that as the sun cannot be seen without its own light, so God could not be known without his illuminations; that by these illuminations proffered to all, the most part were not in any degree enlightened, for want of internal preparation. The preparation or disposition by them required was purification of the soul. Of excellent passages to this purpose, Trismegist, Plato with his followers, Plotine specially, and amongst the Romans Seneca, are very

fertile. Their consonancies to Christian truth are gathered by many, briefly by Pansa, and some other late writers, whom I commend unto the reader for no other end, but that he may be commended or directed by them to these authors themselves, worthy to be looked into by the most eagle-sighted divines of our times. Admit they cannot communicate to us the light of saving truth, with whose comfortable rays their souls were never refreshed, nor their minds enlightened, yet should I take him either for more than a man, even a celestial saint on earth, or for a lazy drone, that will not condemn himself for sloth or dulness in apprehension of God or his goodness, so he will but unpartially compare his own conceits or affections with these men's, allowing the odds, as well of the more excellent means which he hath to find, as of the encouragements incomparably more glorious given him to search out the hidden manna, that secret joy of heart or exultation of spirit, which always resulteth from true contemplation
1032 of the first truth, or from the dew of this fountain of goodness. And if whiles we seek a rule or stay to our understandings, lest they slide into error, we desire withal a spur unto devotion the usual professors of school-divinity come as far short of these heathen theologists and their Christian expositors in this latter service, as they go beyond them in the former.

2. Plotin's frequent interspersion of much divine matter throughout most his philosophical discourses often makes me doubt whether familiarity with Origen did not draw him to some acquaintance with Christian mysteries, howsoever he sought to form them in philosophical moulds, and set forth stolen fragments of the food of life with Platonical sauce. By what means then may the soul in this man's judgment "be elevated to contemplate the unprisable beauty, which hath her

dwellings in the sacred closets, and gads not abroad, lest profane eyes might gloat upon her?" Not to question how well he spake them, or how far he did assent unto them, these and the like speeches of his (very pertinent to our present argument) infer a divine truth out of philosophical principles. "If the eye be either infected with bad humours, dull or weakened for want of spirits, the brightness of the objects presented breeds a dimness, and disenables it for seeing what otherwise might easily be seen. The spectator must be made like the spectacle; nor could any eye see the sun, were it not by natural constitution sun-like: no more can the mind, unless purified, behold the fountain of purity; whence he must be divine or deiformed, that means to see God, or the pattern of beauty[i]." Whether to his soul, morally or philosophically purified, thus much was represented by the light of nature, or whether admitted to look into the fountain of truth or law of liberty, he thus far approved it while he looked upon it, the sum of his collections was delivered by him who alone had seen God and declared him unto the world; *Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God*[k]. In the perfection of this vision consists the fulness of our felicity in the life to come, of which felicity notwithstanding all in this life may in some measure be partakers, by seeing him in his word, and in his only Son: *He that hath seen me hath seen the Father; how then sayest thou, Philip, Shew us the Father*[l]? But did all see the Son that looked upon him? If they did not, how was he the true *light, that enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world?* Inasmuch as the world was made by him, his light was spread throughout it; *he shineth*

[i] Plot. lib. 6. §. 9. Ennead. 1. [k] Matt. v. 8. [l] John xiv. 9.

still in darkness, though the darkness comprehendeth him not, John i. 5. This darkness, in Plotin's language, is the adventitious filth or rust which before purification be wrought adheres to the human soul, and makes it uncapable of any illumination from the fountain of light.

1033 CHAP. L.

What Purification of Heart may be expected and sought after before the live Image of God be renewed in us. Of the Directions given by heathen Philosophers for attaining to this Purification, or to perfect Knowledge by it. Wherein their Directions are defective.

1. BUT admitting the purified heart hath the promise of blessing as well in this life as in the other to come, who shall have interest in the promise? for who can say, My heart is clean? As justification, so the purification whereof we treat is twofold:

1. From the reign or dominion of sin.
2. From all relics or commixture of sin.

Of the latter purification in this life none can be, of the former all the faithful must be partakers. But even faith itself, before it can be lively and sound, must in order of nature (perhaps of time) be sincere and true; and unto the mere truth of it, the right knowledge or apprehension of the object is always precedent. Whence it becomes questionable, what degree or manner of purification is requisite to the right knowledge of God or his attributes; these, in the method proposed to us by the authors of this creed, being the first articles or objects of our belief.

2. May we in this case, as in the like before, admit of a twofold cleansing or purification; one moral, or right only in its kind, but far short of acceptation in itself, only acceptable as it is destinated to a second

which is spiritual, and pleasing to God through Jesus Christ as being the symbol or participated form whereby Christ's righteousness becomes actually ours? The truth of this distinction was supposed by St. James, otherwise he had set those souls, which he sought to cleanse, in a perpetual backwater. Unto men as then not justified nor spiritually purified, unto all, notorious sinners not excepted, for to them by especial title was that exhortation directed, *Draw near to God, and he will draw near to you*, James iv. 8. Suppose the parties to whom he spake should have replied thus—Unless God draw near to us by his sanctifying grace, how should we draw nearer to him than we are?—had their reply been pertinent and just? If just, his exhortations following had been altogether fruitless and impertinent,—*Cleanse your hands, ye sinners; and purge your hearts, ye wavering minded*, James iv. 8. No modern catechist knows better than he did, that God alone must spiritually cleanse and purify, because he alone creates that grace in their hearts whereby this their sanctification is wrought; yet that they might be finally so cleansed and purged by his mere grace, they were first morally to be cleansed, by abstinence from unrighteous actions, by denying of indulgence to internal lusts. This wavering of mind, though it spring from impurity of heart or corrupt affection, (as one observes,) is no ill sign in youth, but rather the working of the soul seeking to purge itself from corruption; although a wavering and floating imagination is for the present most uncapable of the impression of God's image.

3. As corruption of nature doth sway us both to conceive and bring forth evil of every kind, so our 1034
acquired proneness to practise it being outwardly curbed, or our natural propensions by God's providence

diverted from such objects as might entice or enlarge them, the light of nature, as yet not sanctified, will manifest the folly of our former ways, and ofttimes cause notorious malefactors to water their cheeks with tears, in sign they would (as perhaps for the present in part they do) wash their consciences from wonted uncleanness, if it should please God to grant them opportunity of testifying their resolutions by reformation of life prolonged. And what they thus protest may be either merely pretended or unfeignedly purposed. So may purposes, for the time being unfeigned, be either temporary and weak, easy to be defeated by future opportunities, or firm and constant, able to resist all ordinary or wonted enticements to commit external mischiefs: such they may be, and yet never approach the confines of true spiritual renovation.

4. That hearts thus far cleansed and mollified are more apt to admit the true stamp or character of any moral truth, and may be more easily and further poised with any wholesome admonition or reproof, needs no further proof than that which is above all proofs which can be brought to the contrary, common experience. And although in the heat of passion, or by renitency of contrary impulsions, our apprehensions of truths formerly imprinted or then first represented, be not so clear, or though our judgments be corrupt and partial; yet such as have laid up these sacred principles in their hearts, giving them little or no vent except in practice, will in these cases suspect their judgment, and appeal from passion to calm and sober meditations. Many pleasant and grateful fancies which secretly intrude themselves by night, are often mistrusted by some even whiles they dream, though the like dreams in others, which have less occasion to believe them, are exempt from all suspicion. The cause of differ-

ence, as an exquisite philosopher[m] tells us, is this: In the one, the passages betwixt the brain and the heart are in some sort open; in the other so stopped, that the head, which serves as an illiterate messenger or news-carrier to the heart, can have no direction or resolution thence, but takes every thing for true that hath any appearance of truths formerly experienced in waking thoughts. This falls out so, as if, whiles grand counsellors sleep, postboys should take upon them to determine of matters of state by vulgar rumours concerning the secresies enclosed in their packets. The vigilant thoughts of men attentive to worldly business or bent to vice, can be no better in sacred matters than dreaming fancies in matters secular. No moral knowledge not implanted in a purified heart but upon intercourse of passion or new occurrence either vanisheth or varieth as strangely and quickly as nocturnal representations. Nor is it possible any sacred knowledge should enter into our hearts until they be in some measure cleansed of their native rust or adventitious foulness.

5. Not unconsonant to as much of St. James's divinity as hitherto hath been discussed is that resolution of Seneca in the beginning of his natural or theological questions (for God and nature were to him as one), *Multum interest inter vires et bonam valetudinem*, &c. "There is a great difference between health and strength: thou carriest about no counterfeit face, nor framest thy speech unto another's mind: thy heart is not invailed: thou art free from avarice, which deprives itself of what it hath purloined from others; from luxury, which repairs the wasted stock more filthily than it was wasted: thou art not subject to am- 1035
bition, which seldom brings men unto dignity but by base and indign practices; thou art as yet a non-pro-

[m] Philip Mocenicus.

ficient, and rid of all other ill guests, not of thyself. The virtue we aim at is magnificent: not that it is in itself a happy thing to be without vice, but that want of evil doth free the mind, and prepare it for the knowledge of heavenly matters, and qualify it for acquaintance with God." Plotin[n] likewise (avouching the consent of the ancient) makes every virtue a beam or ray of the former purification, in his opinion requisite for attaining union with the prime light or fountain of beauty. What is temperance but abstinence from bodily pleasures, as being neither pure in themselves, nor fit for any, affecting purity of life, to follow? Wisdom and prudence erect the mind to things supernal, and keep it aloof from this inferior and base part of the world which pollutes it. Wherefore it was truly said, that the goodness and beauty of the human soul consists in being like to God. But by what means, in his divinity, must our souls put on his likeness? "[o]By putting off, whiles they ascend to him, the vicious habits which they put on in their descent to worldly spectacles; as those that enter into the sanctuaries of the temples put off their garments, and approach not the presence of the gods till they be purified." And again; "[p]Our souls must be divorced from all corporal beauty, before we come acquainted with the prime light or fountain of beauty, of whom all bodily perfections are but images, on which whoso dotes, or esteems as objects worthy of his love, shall be partaker of his folly that drowned himself by assaying to embrace fair shadows in the water. For thus enclasped with love of bodily decency, that he cannot acquit himself from it, he must needs suffer a precipitation (not so much of body as of soul) into a pit dark and ghastly

[n] Ennead. I. lib. 6. §. 6. [o] §. 7. [p] §. 8.

to the mind of man; blinded both amongst the infernal ghosts, and even whiles they live here haunted still with ghosts or shadows. That is our country whence we came, and there is our settled place of dwelling." But what is the means or manner of our retire? "We need neither ship nor chariot nor horse, not so much as the use of our own feet; all these we must forsake, not vouchsafing once to look back upon them after we be set on in this journey. Our bodily lights being shut, we must provide us another eye. But what must this internal eye behold? Upon the first opening or awakening, it cannot easily fix itself upon excessive brightness. What remedy then? The soul must be inured by degrees, first to look into honest and ingenuous studies; afterwards to contemplate such actions of famous men as are fit patterns for others to follow; lastly, to take the true characters of these good actors' minds." But shall they by this means be enabled to take a true draught of their own form? "[q] If thou canst not see thine own latent beauty, propose the statuary for thy imitation, pare off superfluities and exorbitances, rectify obliquities, and give lustre to parts obscure or dusky, and never give over polishing and trimming thy statue until virtue display her radiant beams, until thou seest temperance established in her immaculate throne. Thou needest no Mercury for thy direction, intend thy sight; for such alone as now thou art can truly behold that excellent beauty."

6. Out of this heathen's philosophy that charity which should be in Christian divines would extract much matter well symbolizing with the words of life. Howbeit, lest either young readers should wrong themselves by doting too much upon these or like passages, or divines should deprive him of his due, let us see a

[q] Ennead. I. lib. 6. §. 9.

little further wherein they decline from Christian truth. It was an heavenly doctrine of Plotine[r] and other
1036 heathens, "That gold being severed from dross or glebes of earth often intermingled with it, and the soul of man once purified from vice or external impressions, both recover their native beauty; that the soul thus recovering her native splendour becomes a true glass for right representation of God's image or his attributes." But the best of the heathen, wanting this perspective glass whereby things of heavenly nature must be discovered, could not discern many internal spots or blemishes which no less pollute the human soul, than those running sores wherewith most others beside themselves were in their judgment foully infected. Besides these mentioned, much of their seed we cannot deny to be most precious, as being either borrowed from the Hebrews since the law was written, or propagated from Noah the preacher of righteousness. Yet even the best that they did sow, compared with Paul's or Apollos' labours, proved in the growth but like grass or green blades upon the housetop, withering before they be ripe. And thus ill it proved because not sown in contrite hearts, because not rooted in true humility, never watered with penitent tears, without whose moisture the seed of God's word ordinarily receiveth no just increase. If we may judge of other heathens by Plotine, and of Plotine by those instances wherein he sought to be most wise, their purest doctrine was infected with a double error; the one, that it was but a kind of hand-labour to put off bad habits, or cleanse our souls from such filth as had befallen them from contagion of externals; the other, that perfect splendour, beauty of mind, or fulness of

[r] Ennead. I. lib. 6. §. 5.

felicity, did immediately result from these moral abstractions or resecations of superfluities. Hence were he and all his fellow philosophers often occasioned to triumph before victory; to boast of liberty, when they had but laid aside some external badges of slavery; to rejoice when they should have sorrowed. For of that true purification which is but as the ground or matter of spiritual reformation, penitent tears and secret mournings are parts essential; *Suffer afflictions, and sorrow ye, and weep: let your laughter be turned into mourning, and your joy into heaviness. Cast down yourselves before the Lord, and he will lift you up*[s].

7. Howbeit, as in comparison of our apostle I must condemn them, so for other contemplations and good directions I cannot but justify them in respect of [t]many professed divines, which intrude themselves into the holy of holies, and pry into God's secret counsels, without any manifest change of mind or affection, scarce of raiment, except perhaps to make a colour of change unto the world by alteration of the hue, ofttimes more than wontedly pampering their wonted green desires under the shelter of a sable suit or candid robe. And I have often observed it to my grief, that as none declaim more passionately against dead heresies than dissolute and licentious livers; so, in questions of greatest moment, and on their part of fearful consequences if they should happen to prove false, none resolve more

[s] James iv. 9, 10.

[t] Fingunt illæ literæ, vegetantque puerile ingenium, atque ad divinarum scripturarum cognitionem mire præparant, ad quas ilico pedibus manibusque illotis irrumpere, pene sacrilegi genus est. Hieronymus eorum impudentiam taxat, qui modo a secularibus literis profecti, audent divinas tractare scripturas. At quanto faciunt impudentius qui ne gustatis quidem illis, istuc ipsum audent? Erasmi Enchirid. cap. 2. [art. De Armis Mil. Christian.]

peremptorily for their own, or more uncharitably against others' opinions, than such as have least sounded the fundamental principles of true divinity, most unable to judge of consequences. None more impatient of contradiction by others, than such as, being let alone, will in few lines often contradict themselves. To bequeath titles of ancient heretics to their live brethren, to shoot out their bitter arrows at all adventures against as many of their fellow soldiers as do not shoot by their compass, none are more forward than such as never sought to know God but by hearsay, having made a secret covenant with their sluggish
1037 selves to take that to be the true sense and meaning of his word, that to be the right tenor of his will, which some worthy divines, more commendable for general pains than for exact discussion of these particulars, but in whose writings they have been most conversant, shall avouch. If they can put a new fashion on vulgar, old worn, or homespun stuff, nothing foreign, though of the same thread better woven, and more durable, must be admitted. What is the reason? Like neat artificers, they rate their hand-labours in materials of others' providing too high. Not to utter their old notes or gatherings of youth, is a loss no less to them, than for merchants not to vent such wares as have lain long upon their hands. And whatsoever they have uttered to the world by word or pen, they deem it no small part of their credit to warrant, if need require, by solemn oath for good stuff. By this confidence they gain credit with the multitude, and having this, verily they have their full reward. But seeing the most exact knowledge that can be had of God or of his attributes in this life must still end in admiration, the first and surest ground of true knowledge in this subject must be avoidance of peremptory

and precise determinations in particulars of confessed difficulty. To hold negatives directly contrary to many particular resolutions commonly received, is always more easy, ofttimes more useful, and for the most part more necessary, than to determine of affirmatives. Nor is it necessary we should abate the strength and vigour of our assent to general principles for want of sure footing in special difficulties; but rather hold it by a hank or rein from violent courses in ruggy or slippery passages. This kind of suspense, which proceedeth from restraint of judgment, not from deadness of devotion, is the mother of admiration, and admiration the nurse of all true knowledge concerning God.

8. One of the best means of knowing what may be known of him in this life, is by knowing ourselves; and the best way to know ourselves is to learn the meaning of that precept of denying ourselves. This is a depth never dived into by any heathen, nor well sounded by most Christians, though the true and perfect image of God be nowhere so conspicuous as in the bottom of it. The hidden treasures of his mercy and goodness (attributes most essentially annexed to the common notion of his nature) were clearliest opened to the world in the humiliation of our Saviour; and that glory of the Godhead which shined in him cannot be represented unto us, unless the like mind be in us which was in him. But the particular branches of this duty spring more directly out of the articles concerning Christ, unto such knowledge (of whom so much as may bring forth the true similitude of his mind, the true knowledge of the divine nature and general attributes is by way of method necessary, and unto this knowledge the generalities of the former principle presupposed and practised) there is yet a more excellent way.

1038 CHAP. LI.

The best Means to rectify and perfect our Knowledge of God is to love him sincerely. Of the mutual Aid or Furtherance which the Love of God and the Knowledge of God reciprocally and in a Manner circularly afford each to other in their Setting and Growth.

1. To make love the mother, and knowledge the daughter, will seem an ὕστερον πρότερον, or mere inversion of nature's progress, from whose footsteps the common maxim, "Unseen, unsought after," or (as the Latins express it), *Ignoti nulla cupido*, "Unknown, undesired," hath been gathered by the investigators of truth. The very essences of desire and love (especially of things not actually enjoyed) are so closely interwrapped and linked together, that for knowledge, or whatsoever is no essential part of themselves, to interpose or come between them, is impossible. If then knowledge (according to the former saying) be always presupposed to desire, how should it be the offspring of love?

2. The former maxim, notwithstanding (if I much mistake not) though within its limits without control, yet rightly examined hath no just authority, save only in such express and actual desires as are fashioned to determinate particulars desired. It no way stretcheth to that mother desire which all men naturally have of knowledge indefinitely taken. This always works before we are aware, and all of us desire to know before we know what knowledge or desire meaneth. This native desire of knowledge no man, I think, (were he to speak directly and *bona fide* to this point,) would avouch to be different from the desire of happiness alike naturally and inseparably rooted in all. One and the same inclination of the reasonable nature

sways to happiness, as to the end or mark, through knowledge, as the entry or passage; but often miscarries, not so much through faint intention or remiss endeavours, as from too hasty, level, unsteady, loose, or immature delivery, before it be furnished with internal weight to balance itself against external impulsions or attractions. Goodness divine, in whose fruition this happiness consisteth, was the port for which the philosophers in their intricate disputes were bound, the point, whereon the former desire is by nature directly set; but from which the alacrious endeavours or vigorous intentions of men most greedy of knowledge usually divert, as far as an headless, unfeathered flight, shot out of a strong bow in a mighty wind, doth from the mark whereto the archer would have sent it. Not the most exquisite knowledge of nature's secresies, of every creature in the world, can add aught unto our happiness otherwise than by rectifying or right leveling that inbred desire which impels or sways us to this anxious search of knowledge. For knowledge itself we desire only as it is good, whereas no goodness save divine can give satisfaction to this desire. Unto this point or centre of the soul's rest and contentment, which philosophers sought up and down by as many arch-lines as there be spheres or circles in the several works of nature, the Psalmist directs us by a short cord or string, *Delight thou in the Lord, and he shall give thee thy heart's desire*, Psalm xxxvii. 4. And our heart's desire includes (at least) such a measure of knowledge and true happiness as in this life is fittest for us. But as we may in some sort desire his goodness, may we so truly delight in him whom we have not known? Is it true of our hearts what Jacob 1039
said of Bethel, *Are they indeed the houses of God?*

is he in them, and we are not aware of his presence[u] ?

3. Of things in their nature sensible, but never apprehended by any particular sense, there may be an implanted hate or loathing ; as, whatsoever the mother near childbirth hath been affrighted or misaffected with, will be misliked by the child brought forth. Hence do these secret enmities which some reasonable creatures bear to dumb beasts, which never offended them, usually grow. The paroxysms or fits of this dislike are never occasioned but by sight or feeling, or some other sensitive actual apprehensions of matters thus offensive: howbeit, some grudgings of the same disease may be procured by mere vicinity or the unknown presence of the adversary; as I have known some men restless after hard labour, and ever and anon to refuse the seat of their wonted rest, not knowing any reason why so they did, till search being made, the sight of their adversary, (that was a cat,) did bring their fit upon them. And yet I make no question but either delightful employments, exercise of the spirit and senses, or the company of lovely creatures might easily have either prevented the working of the antipathy, or deaded all impression of irksomeness or dislike; although their bad neighbour had still been present. As dislike and hate from antipathy, so love or delight may be raised from secret contact or vicinity of sympathizing natures. And whether we hold our souls to be immediately created of nothing, or to spring as branches from our parents, both ways they may be capable of impressions from God's presence, which (though for the most part unapprehended) is always intimate and

[u] Gen. xxviii. 16.

immediate to them as well in their operations as productions, and would undoubtedly fill them with secret joy did we not either give preposterous issue to such gladness as by the sympathy is often unwittingly raised in our hearts, or stifle the first workings or intimations of it by contrary motions of unhallowed mirth. Were those secret rays of warmth and comfort which daily issue from his brightness not cast (as they usually are) upon secondary causes or by-standing creatures, but reflected upon their fountain, the light of his countenance would more clearly shine upon us, and instamp our minds with the right portraiture of his perfections imitable. The sum of the psalmist's late mentioned advice is, to nurse the sympathizing instincts or seeds of secret joy but by abandoning all delight save in those practices which preserve the health and peace of conscience. For to delight in the Lord and in his law are with him terms synonymal. Unto this point the last passages of the fourth book, as of *laying up God's word in our hearts*, of giving mature and right vent to internal motions or suggestions, have (as the reader will easily perceive) peculiar and immediate reference. The imperfect light of speculative or artificial knowledge may well beget some heat of love; but the perfection or splendour of knowledge divine cannot spring but from love throughly kindled and bursting out into a flame, which it seldom doth if those inward touches of unknown joy find too much, too speedy, or sinister vent. It is an excellent observation which some have misquoted out of Plato to this purpose: "Sacred mysteries can hardly be taught with words: but if a man long inures himself to divine matters, and fits his life to his meditations, the light of truth will suddenly burst out as from a sparkling fire." Vide Pansam. pag. 9.

1040 4. The doctrine proposed we may maintain without intermeddling in that quarrel between some late schoolmen[x] and mystical divines more ancient, concerning the precedency of love and knowledge in the unition of our souls with God. In the opinion of the ancients, the acts of love or affection outstart actual knowledge or apprehension. We only give this precedency to the indefinite desire or apprehension of manifest joy from a cause unknown and latent; and perhaps the reason why some so stiffly deny all possibility, *etiam de potentia Dei absoluta*, for love to kindle in the rational soul without some present elicit act of knowledge or apprehension, may be their averseness from Plato in holding science to be but a kind of reminiscence. And though upon these terms we may not second him, yet can we as little brook their opinions, which either expressly maintain or tacitly suppose the manner how love or knowledge rational are first planted or receive increase to resemble the compositions of art rather than the natural growth of vegetables. The first seeds of both are not from without, but within us; and the manner how our knowledge comes to perfection may (I take it) be best illustrated by the manner how we ourselves become capable of this chief ornament of our nature. The first and prime substance of all bodies organical is homogeneal, or of one form. The mould whence man (far the most excellent in this rank) is by degrees (scarce sensible) extracted ought to be reckoned rather amongst the creatures lifeless and inanimate than vital. At the best it is but as the mean between them, not more like to the one in possibility than it is to the other in act; yet duly cherished it quickeneth and brancheth itself into several parts, first exercising only

[x] Gerson and Vasquez.

the operations of life, then of sense, lastly of reason. For although the rational soul be immediately created by God, yet the operations of it as naturally presuppose the operations of sense, as these do operations vegetable. Parallel hereto, our natural desire of knowledge or true happiness (considered in its first root or element) is but, as the schools speak, *quoddam naturæ pondus,* a sway or bent or secret working of nature, seeking to be delivered of this her burden. Afterwards it aims or levels at some particular objects, rather drawn unto them by sympathy or impelled by instinct, than directed by express rule of reason or actual choice. And perhaps the first thing apprehended by it is its own attractions or impulsions, the apprehension of them being but as it were a reflex or doubling of former inclinations or propensions; and once come to this perfection, it moves itself, and loves as well the exercise of its own acts or choice, as the objects to which it was otherwise drawn or impelled; now using sense as a servant, which before did lead it as a guide, but did not give it life or beginning.

5. As food received by the mother doth only nourish, not give life to the fruit conceived in her womb, so the most pregnant suggestions of sense do only feed, not beget the internal desire of knowledge or happiness. The best instructions or precepts of tutors, of parents, or the experiments we get ourselves, are but as so many offices or rules of midwifery for bringing forth what was before conceived. Meditation itself, (which is in common reputation the mother of science,) or whatsoever intention of mind we can use, serves no otherwise to the former purpose than the influence of the sun or stars doth to the productions of flowers or plants, or (were the story true) as the eyes of ostriches or the warmth of other birds to the formation of their

young ones. And thus we see natural inclinations or
1041 desires always come to best proof when they are cherished with assiduous, calm, and quiet meditations; whereas the nimble motions of unsettled brains usually suffer the best seeds which man was permitted to bring with him out of Paradise to perish, as some birds do their young ones by often running off their nests. Not that their inventions are not ofttimes most pleasant or delightful to spectators; for so, curious pictures observantly taken from the several perfections of many lifeless statues do far surpass any one live substance in freshness of colour or exact proportion, howbeit the meanest creature endued with life and motion, simply considered, is much better than the most glorious works of Polycletus or Apelles. And herein the nimble or pleasant wit and the settled contemplator properly differ: the one proceeds by addition, or quaint composition of external or borrowed forms; the other, by multiplication of his own internal capacities, or by a kind of silent incubation, doth as it were hatch his brood, and finds every limb or branch drawn out of his proper root before he mark the frame or composture. And though the conception be sometimes slow, and the proportion long in setting, yet the fruit of his mind once throughly set overgrows the other in height, in strength, and vigour. But unto this facility in bringing forth few attain without extraordinary midwifery or much experience. The difficulties of their first travails make many prostitute their wills to fruitless popular commercements, never resolving to conceive more deeply of any matters than may occasion extemporary pleasure or delight, or procure some anniversary or solemn flashes of general applause. But much more painful than any contemplation besides, whereof the reasonable soul seeketh to be delivered, is our own

new birth, which, in the apostle's language, is but the fashioning of Christ Jesus, or God's image in us. In this our translation from darkness to light how often are we enforced to cry out with Hezekiah, *The children are come unto the birth, and there is no strength to bring forth!* Sometimes we seek with sighs and groans to give vent to the inward working of the implanted inclination, stirred and quickened by the Spirit of God. Otherwhiles we strive to strengthen the expulsive force, or to make an eruption by knocking our breasts, ofttimes enforced to rest contented with a stream of tears, strained out by this struggling agony between the infusions of spiritual life and the flesh resisting this our birth, as the dragon did the bringing forth of the woman's child. Howbeit these sorrowful tears serve to this end as a spring or summer shower to a joyful harvest; and the greater our pain in the travail, or the longer our expectation hath been masked with carnal blindness, the greater always is our joy in the delivery; when our minds are enlightened to see the beauty of that which heretofore we so fervently expected only by secret instinct or sympathy. Then fearing lest these transient gleams might fade or vanish, either we crave with old Simeon our *Nunc dimittis, Lord, now lettest thou thy servants depart in peace, while our eyes behold thy salvation;* or complain with the prophet, *How long wilt thou be as a passenger, or as one that sojourneth but for a night? Return, O Lord, return unto thy restingplace, thou, and the ark of thy strength*: and with Peter we proffer to build him a lasting tabernacle, to allot him our hearts for a perpetual habitation.

6. What joy of heart doth usually accompany those internal illuminations which break forth from such ardent desire of acquaintance with the divine nature,

as hath been secretly kindled and nourished by a touch or sympathy of his former unapprehended presence, and how incomparably they exceed the most lively
1042 representations which others can frame of his essence or attributes, whether for solid information of the understanding, for affecting the will, or for uniting our souls and affections to him, may in part be gathered from that excessive delight which men naturally take in their own labours in respect of others more exquisitely adorned; partly from the measure of our exceeding ourselves either in the right apprehension or exquisite adorning of subjects much affected, in comparison of these which we naturally fancy not or lightly esteem. The fruits of other men's labours, being as it were gathered to our hands, we like no farther than as they fit those moulds of our speculative reflective conceits, which have their seat in the superior part of the soul, and scarce communicate with affection; and our judgments are always most sincere in respect of those men's works whose persons or conversation have given us least occasion of any affectionate sympathy or antipathy. But in the approbation of our own inventions, affection, and that natural inclination whence they spring, have swaying voices; and unless these stubborn suffragants be first squared to the rules of reason taught by others, they enforce our judgments to bow unto their bent. But albeit too much affection leadeth many into folly, yet no man understands or handles any subject well which he doth not much affect. Hence poets, as their inventions are most delicate, so are they usually most in love with them; because the same bent of affection which animates and strengthens their fancies to bring forth, doth also enamour them with the beauty of their own brood. Howbeit though indignation may give the faculty of making verses where

nature hath denied it; yet to make a poet, nature itself is not able, but by giving an extraordinary affection of like or dislike, of such objects as fall within the consideration of the poetical faculty[y]. Generally, as blunt irons throughly heated pierce further into hard bodies than cold edge-tools; so wits in themselves not the acutest, whilst accompanied with ardour of affection, conceive most acutely and deeply of matters much affected, and will go through such difficulties as would turn the edges of the best wits living not thus backed or fortified. Nor is it the nimbleness of conceit or apprehension, but the unrelenting temper of inbred desire and incessant sway or working of secret instinct, which brings the seeds of knowledge to just growth and maturity; as those plants prosper best, not which shoot out fastest, or flourish soonest, but such as have the soundest roots and sappiest stems.

7. As reason requires affection to back it, so much more doth affection need the eye of reason (domestic or foreign) to direct and level it; nor is it only directed, but withal refined and purified, by being as it were new cast in the models of our rational or reflex conceits; each act of settled contemplation diminisheth somewhat of its natural sourness, as crabs or wild apples, by often transplanting or engraffing, grow more mild and pleasant. As there is a circular progress of seed from trees, and trees from seed, so is there a reciprocal production of desire or love by knowledge, and of knowledge by desire or love, in one and the same man. For man's actions of this kind are immanent, and multiply within himself. And as the seed since the first creation doth still in order of nature go before the tree, so doth knowledge always presuppose instinct

[y] Hoc amet, hoc spernet, promissi carminis author.

or desire. And yet knowledge of things amiable, being come unto maturity, is always laden with love, as with its natural fruit. Nor should we so much desire to know any subject, unless love to it known were most natural. So that knowledge properly is but our natural desire, or implanted blind love restored to sight; and
1043 nature doth as it were first grope after that which at length she comes to see, and having seen, desires to embrace or kiss. The apparent inconstancy of young desires never satisfied manifests their natural blindness in that they secretly solicit a guide or instructor: and the original of this inconstancy (as was intimated before) is but the working of the soul seeking to unsheath the implanted notion or desire of knowledge and of true happiness from those fleshly inwrapments wherewith it was blindfolded as a child in the womb: or to deduce the original of the error from a principle more properly philosophical—"As unto knowledge truly speculative there is required a perfect abstraction of the object known, or of the form by which we know it, from all material conditions or sensitive adjuncts which accompany it; so, on the behalf of the intellective faculty itself, (especially for the right contemplation of matters moral or practical,) a correspondent extraction of the engraffed notion or desire of good is as requisite. For as those speculative or general rules which have been taken from sensitive experiments not rightly severed or abstracted, though they hold in some, yet fail in most particulars when we come to practice; so likewise all love of goodness whatsoever is unsincere and unconstant, unless the engraffed desire of happiness whence it springs be first stripped of those sensitive desires or propensions, which by the corruption of nature are either linked with it or enclose it, as the ivy doth the oak." And yet the more we inure ourselves

to any sensual or external good, the greater advantage those sensual appetites or propensions gain, as well for strengthening, as for fast linking or mingling themselves with the intellectual inclination or desire, which by long custom they either quite blind, or make it willing to admit them for its leader.

8. This then is the aphorism for whose proof thus much hath been premised; "The most compendious and safest way to conceive or speak aright of God or his goodness, is to have our inbred desire of happiness right set in youth, and continually held as in a bay unto those practices whereto God hath promised the communication of his gracious presence." So shall the sincere knowledge of his goodness and other attributes break forth (in a measure fittest for every man in his vocation) in best season, and bring forth the most lasting, constant, and pleasant fruits of love. And knowledge again relying upon the internal desire of happiness, which is the stem or branch whence these fruits of love proceed, doth season and sweeten the very nature or property of it, and in a sort transform from a wild plant to a tree of life; as cunning gardeners, by often transplanting and good dressing, much better the stock, and in process of time, in a manner, alter the very specifical nature of the fruit. And after our cogitations come once to revolve upon the forementioned sympathy, or settled peace of conscience, (which cannot arise but from God's presence,) as upon a firm and constant centre, our souls become like a surveyor's table rightly set for taking the true model of the incomprehensible Nature.

END OF VOL. IV.